MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE PUNJAB

(1526-1707 A.D.)

By

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mr. Subhash Chander of the Department of History, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla, worked on the topic 'A Study of the Mughal Architecture in the Punjab' for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in History under my supervision.

I further certify that the present Thesis is an original attempt of the candidate and is worthy of consideration for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in History of the Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla. It is, therefore, recommended that the thesis be referred to experts for evaluation .

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PREFACE

The buildings man erects bear the stamp of his thoughts, beliefs and aspirations. The changing needs of man in his religious, political and domestic development, have evolved and influenced his building activity. The surviving architectural monuments form one of the most authentic sources of history, written though in a language somewhat difficult to decipher. Sir Banister Fletcher discerns in them " a lithic history of social conditions, progress and religion and events which are landmarks in the history of mankind." The architectural monuments are the "fossils of civilization", as Trewin Copplestone puts it.

Mughal period of Indian history witnessed a hectic building activity. Unlimited wealth and power of the empire, relatively settled conditions and above all pronounced aesthetic nature of the Mughal emperors were the factors which encouraged the development of the building art during this period. Timur, an ancestor of the Mughals, put an inscription on one of the gateways of Samarkand : " Let he who doubts our power and magnificence look at our buildings". This inscription embodies the essence of building activity by Timur's successors also. The Mughal nobility also indulged in building activity to seek the royal favour by catering to the emperors' whims and by appealing to his vanity . This was natural in a system in which one's security and success depended on the emperor's pleasure. Then, princes and queens, too, were liberal patrons. Merchants and

philanthropists invested their income in socially useful constructions. Ostentation or the lust for public esteem was often a motive. Monuments were deliberate and conspicuous displays of their personal wealth and glory.

Notwithstanding the depredations at the hands of man and nature, a large number of Mughal buildings have survived. British scholars like Fergusson, Cunningham, Keene, Cole, E.W. Smith, Rodgers, Marshall, Havel, V.A. Smith and Percy Brown to name a few, have studied the Mughal architecture and their works have undoubtedly, laid the foundation for the advanced studies in the subject. Among modern Indian scholars, Dr. R. Nath has done extensive research on the subject. But the Mughal monuments are scattered over such a vast territory that it is beyond the means of a single scholar to cover them all. Hence most of the above-mentioned scholars have limited themselves to major monuments in capital cities only. Due to this reason, the Mughal monuments in the Punjab (including the present state of Haryana) remained more or less unnoticed, though a considerable number of monuments of the first grade lie in these states. Nowhere in India, for instance, are there such exquisite specimens of Mughal sarais as we come across in these states.

The original number of monuments in the region under study was far greater than what survives today. Unfortunately, a great number of these has been lost due to ravages of time, poor building material and techniques, natural calamities and later political upheavals.

The climate of northern India is less harmful to monuments.

However, some of these were struck by lightning or torn by earthquakes. Besides, the buildings making use of radiating arch and dome involve great lateral thrusts which gradually tend to split and tear the building into pieces. The natural damage, however, appears negligible as compared to the destruction caused by vandalism.

The first shock of damage to the monuments of the region was caused during the period of the Sikh raids. Reverence for archaeology is, after all, a relatively modern concept. For the irate bands of the Sikhs, the Muslim buildings were a symbol of their power and authority. To take revenge for the Mughal excesses, the irate bands of the Sikhs repeatedly attacked different towns and cities of the region during the eighteenth century and destroyed them. The Muslim buildings suffered the same fate as the monuments of the Hindus had suffered at the hands of the bigot Turkish and Mughal rulers. However, it appears that the Sikhs did not do much harm to Muslim religious buildings. It is due to this reason that even at Sirhind which was hit the worst by the armies of Banda Bahadur, about a dozen Muslim monuments are still in existence.

During the early days of British administration, a number of Muslim buildings were demolished all over India for the sake of brick only. (This vandalism was not limited to Muslim buildings only, a large satupa at Rawalpindi was also pulled down for the sake of obtaining stone with which a jail was constructed there). Fergusson, the author of <u>A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture</u>, mentions the ruthless barbarism of British rule

in the following words:

" Mosques we have generally spared, and sometimes tombs, because they were unsuited to our economic purposes, and it would not answer to offend the religious feelings of the natives. But when we deposed the kings, and appropriated their revenues, there was no one to claim their now useless abodes of splendour. It was consequently found cheaper either to pull them down, or use them as residences or arsenals, than to keep them up, so that very few now remain for the admiration of posterity."

The Mughal monuments of the region under study also had their share of demolitions. The bricks from the Mughal monuments of Sirhind and Kalanaur were used to supply ballast for railway lines. After the mutiny of 1857 A.D., some of the Mughal sarais (including the one at Gharonda) were pulled down because some mutineers had taken shelter in them.

During the partition of India in 1947 A.D., most of the Muslim population of the region under study migrated to Pakistan, leaving behind very few who could take care of their monuments. Several mosques and tombs in good condition were converted into private residences or shelters for animals. Those in a precarious condition were demolished by brick-hungry people. Such buildings served as quarries to supply material for new buildings. The process still continues unabated. A mosque of the period of Shah Jahan at Shahabad which the present scholar saw in 1980 has been demolished to construct another religious place on the site.

Despite all this wreckage, a considerable number of Mughal

monuments is still standing. Only a few of them have been declared 'Protected' by the Central Department of Archaeology and the state governments. Even some of the 'Protected Monuments' are crumbling fast. So an immediate study and documentation of the extant architectural remains is called for. This concise work is the first humble endeavour in this direction. The purpose of the study is to give the reader an idea of what Mughal architecture looked like in the region under study.

The geographical connotation of the word 'Punjab' has been constantly changing through the ages. At its largest extent, it comprised the territories which included West Punjab (now in Pakistan), East Punjab (Indian part), Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. Shrinking with time, the word 'Punjab' represents the present state now known by the name. The west Punjab part of the old connotation of the Punjab had to be kept out of the scope of the present study mainly because of the difficulty of visiting the erstwhile parts of the Punjab, now forming part of Pakistan. Moreover, Lahore (in West Punjab) has the largest concentration of Mughal monuments which have already been studied extensively. Himachal Pradesh has been kept out ofthe purview of the present study as the region being a hilly area, hardly witnessed any building activity which can precisely be called the Mughal. Therefore, the word 'Punjab' as used in the title of the thesis includes the area comprising the present states of the Punjab and Haryana.

The Mughal building activity commenced soon after their appearance on the Indian scene in 1526 A.D. But after the death

of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., the region under study remained more or less disturbed due to the Mughal-Sikh conflict. As a consequence, not only the building activity was brought almost to a standstill but the previously erected monuments also began to face destruction. Thus only the monuments erected in between this period (1526-1707 A.D.) have been taken up for study in the present work.

As in the case of the rest of the country, Mughal architecture in the region under study is represented by buildings of numerous types, which, however, may be referred to as the two conventional divisions of (a) Religious and (b) Secular. The religious buildings consist of two kinds only - the mosque and the tomb. But the gamut of secular buildings includes gardens, sarais, palaces, forts, madrassas, baolis, bridges, kos-minars etc. Since the surviving monuments preclude drawing conclusions from a common chronological ordering, these are treated typologically instead : gardens, sarais, tombs, mosques and finally miscellaneous structures. Although describing the various types of buildings separately, is somewhat misleading as they are very seldom separated completely, and were usually built or were meant to be viewed in relation to each other. Within each type, the monuments have been described in a rough chronological order.

A common distinguishing feature of the Mughal monuments of the region is their adornment with glazed tiles. Hence, a separate chapter has been devoted to this aspect.

As the building of the Mughal monuments in the region

under study was not an isolated phenomenon, it was considered necessary to indicate briefly the development of Muslim architecture in India in general and in northern India in particular. The opening chapter provides the historical background to the study.

It is primarily the propria persona study which has provided the basic data for the work. This data has been supplemented and authenticated and conclusions corroborated by contemporary chronicles, accounts given by the foreign travellers, literary sources, archaeological reports and epigraphic evidence. Attempts have also been made to determine the dates of erection of the monuments and to identify the personages associated with them. The main emphasis, however, is on an objective documentation of the extant monuments.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Arabs who surged over so large a part of the then civilised world in the seventh and the eighth century A.D. were nomads. The land they inhabited constituted an almost perfect architectural vacuum. But they were "impetuously ready to adopt and adapt the magnificence of established civilisations, just as their faith was itself a selective synthesis of established religions."[1] And this was their great virtue.

In the earliest stages, the buildings in the territories conquered from Byzantines and Sassanian Persians formed the architectural taste of the Arabs.[2] The process of absorption from the ancient traditions of the conquered lands continued throughout the period of development of Islamic architecture. In its origin, therefore, Islamic architecture was "a simple aggregate adopted by Islam from the techniques of the people under its dominion."[3]

Although woven from multi-coloured strands, the Islamic architecture has a unity of its own. It was due to this fact that it was the product of a religion rather than that of a country.[4] Though its material texture was fashioned differently in different countries, its spiritual complexion, remaining the same all the time, was derived from Arabia.[5]

By the time the Turkish conquerors appeared on the Indian scene, in the last decade of the twelfth century, Islamic architecture, after passing through its experimental stages, had

built an identifiable architectural vocabulary to suit its religious and social needs. The structural problems had been solved and a suitable disposition of the various parts of the buildings had been finally established. The characteristic features of the architecture brought to India by its Turkish conquerors included the dome for roof,[6] pointed arch for spanning opening and minar or tower[7] for summoning the faithful to prayer.[8]

In India, the conquerors had not to begin with a clean slate. Pre-Islamic Indian builders could boast of one of the world's most ancient traditions of technique and design. The indigenous style of architecture they developed was based on the principle of beam and bracket. In this system, all spaces are spanned by means of beams laid horizontally as distinct from arches, and projections are supported by brackets. Their buildings were characterised by flat roofs, corbel brackets, tapering domes, arches built on cantilever principle,[9] eaves and narrow columns, pillars and pilasters. Obviously, the prevailing ideas, forms and methods of construction in India were in marked contrast with those introduced by its Turkish conquerors. But gradually, the foreign and indigenous strands were woven together inextricably. The buildings which thus came up were a result of the following factors.

In the first place, the Turkish conquerors being a ruling minority, were dependent on the indigenous artisans of India. This laid the foundations of a "tradition of give and take between the rather austere traditions of Islamic building and sculptural skill of the local Hindu masons."[10] Indian artisans unconsciously introduced into Muslim buildings many decorative and architectural details, so much so that " there is hardly a form or motif of Indian architecture which in some guise or the other did not find its

way into the buildings of the conquerors."[11]

Secondly, the early Muslims did not hesitate to pull down the Hindu and Jain temples to supply readymade material, needed to build their mosques, palaces and tombs.[12] This factor also accounts for the region under study being almost entirely denuded of any record of the Hindu architecture.

Thirdly, though there was a striking contrast in the buildings in the Hindu and the Muslim styles , there were some points where the two styles converged. Taking advantage of the resemblance, the new rulers sometimes converted the Hindu and the Jaina temples into mosques by replacing a flat roof with domes and minarets.[13]

Again, a common link between the two styles was the fact that both, the Islamic and the Hindu art, were inherently decorative. Ornament was as vital to the one as to the other; both were dependent upon it for their very existence.[14]

The qualities of grandeur and spaciousness in Indo-Islamic architecture were exclusively there to be found in it due to its Muslim heritage. Muhammadans introduced the use of concrete and mortar, indispensable for constructing true arches and domes.[15] But the Muhammadan buildings in India owed their qualities of strength and grace to the Hindu architecture.[16] The result of the fusion of these two styles was the genesis of the Indo-Islamic architecture.

Percy Brown categorized the buildings which thus came up during the Muhammadan supremacy in India, into three main styles: (1) the Delhi or Imperial, (2) the Provincial, and (3) the Mughal.[17]

The first of these styles was associated with the Sultanate at the capital city, the centre of Imperial power. The second, the Provincial, refers to those modes of building practised in

some of the more self-contained portions of the country. As after Timur's invasion which dissipated the Tughlaq rule, some provincial governors threw off their allegiance to Delhi. In some instances these provincial styles were more expressive and fascinating than their parent style of Delhi. These provincial manifestations in most instances prevailed for the period partly contemporery with the Sultanate of Delhi and partly with that of the Mughals until the latter brought the whole of India under their rule. The third style, the Mughal, was the accomplished form of Indo-Islamic architecture, which emerged after the middle of the sixteenth century and continued to flourish until the sun of the Mughal empire set in the eighteenth century.

<u>The Delhi or Imperial Style</u>

The building projects of Qutubuddin Aibak, the founder of the early Turkish dynasty, foreshadowed a notable movement in the sphere of architectural design and its method of construction. The first mosque at Delhi, the Quwwat'ul-Islam (Might of Islam) was fabricated from the demolished material of twenty-seven temples.[18] It is simply a make-shift structure. The first surviving example of a truely Islamic order erected on the Indian soil, however, is the arched screen across its western side.

This screen seems to have been a joint venture of local Hindu master builders and Muslim overseers. Since the Hindu craftsmen, employed, were unfamiliar with the construction of arches, they built them by the method of corbelling, i.e., by first creating the rough multiple bracketed opening and then chiselling away the objectionable corners to create a smooth profile.

After Qutubuddin Aibak's death in 1210 A.D., his son-in-law and successor Iltutmish completed the Qutub Minar, which might

~~probably~~ have been commenced by Aibak himself.[19] The first use of a typical Islamic architectural feature - stalactite, appears under the tiers of galleries round the Qutb Minar. A stalactite is a little triangular concave panel. The feature continued to be used down to the end of the Mughal period, although within a short time it was reduced to a purely decorative element rendered in plaster and applied materials instead of brick. These cell-like elements assembled in groups usually filled the soffit of arches and domes.

A spherical dome can not be erected on a square structure without manipulating the corners of the room below. The three methods adopted in India to affect the transition from the square of the room to the circle of the dome were the use of squinch, pendentive and stalactite.[20]

A squinch is an arch built diagonally across the corners of a square building, converting it into an octagon which could easily support a circular dome. The other device - pendentive, is a spherical triangular shape in each corner of a square building which serves to transfer thrust to the pier below and not on to the arch itself as in squinch. The contrivance used in the tomb of Iltutmish (died 1235 A.D.) was the one known as squinch.

The tomb of Balban dating about 1280A.D., has the pride of place where the true arch, produced by means of radiating voussoirs, first appeared in India.[21] However, in spite of the introduction of the true arch, the corbelled arch did not go out of fashion and continued to be constructed side by side, till the end of the Mughal rule.

The building schemes initiated by Alauddin Khalji make a decisive advance in the field of architecture. In the Alai Darwaza,

a noble south gateway to the incomplete mosque enclosure (c.1310 A.D.), he has left us a captivating and exquisite building. This gateway, though modest in size, marks the culmination of the early Indo-Islamic architecture. In general character and ornament, it is Persian, but the Hindu tradition may be seen in the design of the shafts.[22]

The structure heralds two distinctive features that were to continue to embellish Islamic architecture in India for centuries to come. The first of these is the blending of red sandstone and white marble as facing material. Decorative use of false storeys on the exterior was another of its characteristic features. This basic format was followed by the Sayyids and Lodis for their square tombs. The style lingered in the region under study even in the buildings erected during Humayun's reigh.

Of the Tughlaq rulers, Ghiyasuddin, Muhammad and Firoz Shah took interest in the art of building. The first Tughlaq monument, the tomb of Ghiyasuddin forms a landmark in the development of Indo-Islamic architecture.

This tomb is a square structure with sharply sloping walls and crowned with a white marble dome. A notable contrivance appears for the first time in this tomb. In its doorway opening, a redundant stone beam has been installed just below the springing of the arch, thus combining in construction the two principles of support, the arch and the beam. Though technically irrational, this architectural compromise became an elegant and effective device and continued to be used in the subsequent styles with remarkable effect.[23] The pointed shape of its dome afterwards became characteristic of the Indo-Islamic style. The distinctive 75 degree camber of its outer walls, which was the dominant

feature of the brick architecture of Multan, survived for centuries.

It was for Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani (died c. 1368-69 A.D.) that an octagonal tomb was erected for the first time in India. There is possibility that the Khan was inspired by the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam at Multan which he once held as his fief. The octagonal configuration had an advantage in that unlike a square structure, a dome could be built over the building without the use of any squinch, pendentive or stalactite. The tomb of the Khan is experimental in nature as is evident from its crude and imperfect proportions. Each side of its octagonal verandah is pierced by three arches over which projects a wide chhajja or eaves, an early application of this typically Hindu element.[24] It added a new dimension to the otherwise plain surfaces of Islamic buildings in India. Henceforth, it was steadily maintained. Another innovation in this tomb was the imposition of a cupola on each angle of the octagon. This feature helped provide an interesting skyline. Obviously, the tomb of Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani is the forerunner of mausolea of octagonal shape which were to form the glory of Indo-Islamic architecture.

The Sayyids and Lodis excelled in erecting memorials to the dead, which now began to assume the character of "cloistered garths surrounding a central monumental pile."[25] Hence forwards, two distinct prototypes of tomb plans evolved - octagonal and square. The octagonal configuration caught the fancy of royalty, the square type being reserved for nobles and others of high rank.[26] The later type of tombs continued to be erected in the region under study upto the end of the sixteenth century. Percy Brown thus summarizes the characteristic features of the type: "... these square buildings have no sloping parts, all the lines and planes are true and vertical. The two and three stories forming

their elevation are not definite floors, but merely arcaded zones introduced as architectural decoration to their facades. These facades are so designed as to have the central portion in the shape of a rectangle, projected and containing a large recessed archway occupying nearly the total height of the structure almost to the parapet. Within this arched recess is a doorway of the beam and bracket order, the space above being occupied by an arched window opening.... A single chamber comprises the interior which is square in plan, with sunk archways occupying each side, that on the west containing the mihrab. In each corner is a squinch arch to support the base of the dome...."[27]

The tomb of Sikandar Lodi (died 1517 A.D.) at Khairpur (Delhi) forms a connecting link between the fortified walls surrounding the earlier type of tomb and the extensive terraced garden enclosing a Mughal tomb.[28]

In this tomb, the double dome appears for the first time in India.[29] This contrivance consists of two different shells of masonry - the inner and the outer one, separated by a void. It enables to preserve the lofty effect by raising the external shell to a satisfactory height as well as to avoid a deep well of darkness in the room below with a low ceiling.

Among the most notable Delhi mosques of the early sixteenth century is the beautiful Moth-ki-Masjid (1505 A.D.), It is a remarkable composition with high blank walls flanked by arcaded pavilions. The shape and proportions of the five main arches of the facade and the emphasis given to the central bay, the spacing, disposition and the volume of the three domes are some of its distictive features.[30] Its facade is finished in red sandstone set with grey granite and quartzose creating a graceful effect. In its aisles, a form of stalactite pendentive is introduced, a structural and ornamental combination of striking elegance.[31]

The most remarkable feature of the Qila-i-Kuhna Masjid (1550 A.D.), built by Sher Shah Sur , is the balanced perfection

of its facade.[32] This mosque served as a prototype to be developed by the Mughals. Also, about this time, the four-centred arch appeared on the Indian scene.[33] This arch is so named because its curve is struck from four centres, two on the springing line and two below this line.

Provincial Styles

The principal provincial styles are eight in number, each named after the region in which it developed, viz., Punjab, Bengal, Gujarat, Jaunpur, Malwa, Deccan, Bijapur & Khandesh and Kashmir.

The earliest provincial style to emerge and with which we are mainly concerned, was that in the Punjab (1150-1325 A.D.) as here the first contacts with Islam were made through its two main centres, the cities of Lahore and Multan.[34] The architecture of the region was mainly of brickwork of a remarkably fine quality, building stone being rare in the plains of the Punjab. It was the custom to reinforce this brickwork by means of wooden beams inserted into walls.[35] The brick and timber walls were sloped to provide greater stability. Glazed tiles in brilliant colours adorned parts of these plastered buildings.

But for some remains of timber constructions, there are no complete examples of the art of building of this period (1150-1325 A.D.) in Lahore.[36] But in Multan five tombs dating from the middle of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century are still standing.[37] By name, these are (1) the tomb of Shah Yusuf Gardizi, 1152 A.D.; (2) tomb of Shah Bahaul-Haqq, died 1262 A.D.; (3) tomb of Sadna Shahid, died 1270 A.D.; (4) tomb of Shah Shamsuddin Tabrizi, died 1276 A.D.; (5) tomb of Shah Rukn-i-Alam (1320-24 A.D.).

Percy Brown describes some common features of this group of

tombs in the following words: " All are built of brick and there is a certain amount of woodwork in more than one of them, while glased tiles find a place in decoration. The first four are square in plan, but the largest and the most important of all and the final example of the series, that of Shah Rukn-i-Alam is octagonal and has a pronounced sloping outline in its lower storey."[38]

Mughal Style

In 1526 A.D., after the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, Mughal power made its appearance in the person of versatile Babur. His successors established the Mughal empire in India. They introduced " a spirit of cultural eclecticism, almost against the theocratic concept of Islam."[39] The Indian builder fully availed himself of this eclecticism of his new patrons. He combined "the superb exuberance and grandeur of the indigenous art with the vitality and dynamism of the new inspiration which the patrons most aesthetically provided."[40]

If anywhere, the Mughals looked to the civilisation of Persia for inspiration.[41] The Persian influence was constantly renewed by them by their marriages to Persian women, their employment of the Persian officials and their close contact with the Persian rulers.

Babur remained an active builder during his brief and stormy reign of five years over India. He commenced a large number of building projects, chiefly in the form of ornamental gardens and similar pleasences. Unluckily, most of his works could not withstand the ravages of time and vandalism, and crumbled. It is interesting to note that the first of a few of his surviving buildings, the Kabuli Bagh Mosque, lies in the region under study, at Panipat. The formal garden was his greatest contribution to Indian art.[42]

His love for order an symmetry was communicated in full measure to his worthy successors.

Babur's son Humayun was able neither to hold nor to administer the lands his father conquered. He was no match to his Afghan rival Sher Shah and fled to Persia . He returned to Delhi after the collapse of the Sur regime, in 1555 A.D., only to die in an accidental fall the next year.

His contribution to Mughal architecture was somewhat indirect in nature. His sojourn while a fugitive from India at the court of Shah Tahmasp was a means of bringing some significant Persian architectural traditions to Hindustan. This new influence revealed itself most significantly in his own tomb, built by his widow Haji Begum.

Percy Brown describes its architectural style as "an Indian interpretation of a Persian conception."[43] Elaborating the Persian elements in this royal sepulchre, the author writes : "Until now nowhere but in Persia had there appeared a dome of this shape and construction.[44] Solely in the buildings of that country had there figures the great arched alcove which gives such character to the facade, and nowhere else but in the royal tombs of that region had there been devised that complex of rooms and corridors forming the interior arrangements."[45]

Another innovation in this tomb was the chamfering of its angles. Jairazbhoy is of the view that this feature was introduced "to admit light from the diagonal ends so as to pass through the room into the dimly lit corridors."[46] Whatever the origin of this feature may be, its introduction was epoch making as it supplied a new plan for tombs and it was an octagonalised squre.

The style of building that evolved under Akbar's patronage, in its appearance but not in structure, was "arcuate and trabeate" in almost equal proportions.[47] The centre of Akbar's building activity was the city of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri. The buildings were built chiefly in red sandstone. In most of the cases the domes retain the curve of the type that covered Lodi tombs.[48] It is also possible to see by its character that it was not far removed from the wooden archetype, a method of construction that was still practised in the more northern parts of Hindustan as may be observed in the secular architecture of the Punjab at such places as Lahore, Chiniot and also in Kashmir.[49]

The Jami Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri is one of the most significant buildings of the period. The southern gateway to the mosque, which was added in 1596 A.D. after Akbar's victory in Gujarat campaign, is a landmark in the development of Mughal architecture. "Its huge recessed and vaulted portal, with a wide rectangular frame of flat ornament is essentially Persian in character...."[50]

Akbar was succeeded by his son Jahangir who was obsessed more with the art of painting and laying out gardens than with the building activity. But Akbar had given such an impetus to the art of building that in spite of the indifference of his successor, it was carried along by its own momentum. However, it was during Jahangir's rule that his wife Nur Jahan replaced the " dignified austerity of Akbar's sandstone architecture with the flamboyance and lustre of pure white Makrana marble."[51] The buildings assumed a pretty look rather than a forceful one.

The tomb of Nur Jahan's father, Itmad-ud-Daula, forms a

connecting link between the style of Akbar and that of Shah Jahan. In plan, the tomb consists of a series of rooms and passages corresponding to an enclosed verandah which surrounds a central chamber containing a cenotaph. Each corner of the building is marked with a circular minaret. The decoration of the tomb with inlay of pietra-dura is its most notable feature.

What Jahangir achieved for painting, his son and successor Shah Jahan did for architecture. His interest in building activity is testified by his court historian Abdul Hamid when he writes, "The majority of the buildings of his abode he designs himself and in the designs prepared by clever masons after a long consideration he makes appropriate alterations and asks proper questions."[52] Condoning exaggeration, at least this much is evident that Shah Jahan had a keen interest in his building projects.

In his buildings he brought complete lucidity and coherence in their architectural effect. The austere pointed arch gave way to the cusped arch. The feature first appeared in the screen of the Arhai Din ka Jhompra at Ajmer[53] and a small gateway at Tughlaqabad[54] and a niche in the prayer wall of the Ibadat Khana mosque at Fatehpur Sikri.[55] It imbued the buildings of Shah Jahan with sensuousness. Besides, the horizontal lines of the chhajja, in consonance with the arches below and kiosks and domes above, were curved in the middle and extremely projected at the ends.[56] The dome became, as the Persian type, bulbous in its outlines and constricted at base.[57] The Red Fort at Delhi and above all the Taj Mahal at Agra are the productions of the period.

During this time an entirely different regional mode, influenced by the architectural style of Persia manifested itself

in the far northern portions of Shah Jahan's dominion. The chief characteristic of the style was the exterior decoration of the buildings, covering the most of their surfaces, which consisted of patterns in glazed tiles in brilliant colours. The city of Lahore was the centre of this development and the mosque of Wazir Khan (1634 A.D.) in the city, its crowning manifestation. This mode of decoration continued well into the reign of Shah Jahan's successor, Aurangzeb.

Although the cusped arch of Shah Jahan's reign also remained in use during Aurangzeb's period but more characteristic of the period was the arch with curved shoulders and a long straight horizontal top.[58]

Although some beautiful mosques and other types of buildings were erected during the reign of Aurangzeb, but like every other art, architecture declined during his long reign. Accounting for the decline, Coomaraswamy says, " that the Mughal architecture, however, splendid, was an artificial growth dependent on personal patronage, and not, like the Hindu art, a direct product of the local conditions."[59] But to Percy Brown, the deterioration of the style was inevitable as it was the result of the diminishing influence of the ruling power, which Aurangzeb's bigotry only served to accelerate.[60]

It was against this background that the Mughal monuments were erected in the region under study. The style of the buildings usually swung between the Imperial styles of the court at Agra, Delhi and Lahore, depending upon the proximity of the area to one of the above three Mughal capitals.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mortimer Wheeler, Splendours of the East, London, 1965, p. 17.

2. Nikolaus Pevsner, et al., A Dictionary of Architecture, London, 1975, p. 264.

3. Andre Godard, The Art of Iran, London, 1965, p. 254.

4. Sir Banister Fletcher, A History of Architecture (On the Comparative Method), London, Rep. 1963, p. 1223.

5. A.H. Christie, The Legacy of Islam, Oxford, 1931, p. 108.

6. The dome was developed more or less independently in those regions where wood was lacking, and necessity forced the invention of this sort of roofing. (K.A.C. Creswell, "The History and Evolution of the Dome in Persia", Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1914, p.68.)

7. The first minarets built by the Muslims were derived architecturally from Syrian church towers. (K.A.C. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, Penguin, 1958, p. 111.)

8. A.K. Coomaraswamy, The Arts & Crafts of India & Ceylon, London, 1913, p. 215.
A.U. Pope is of the opinion that some fundamental forms of Iranian architecture, like the pointed and trefoil arches, the traverse vault, the octagonal form of the building, the dome etc., had their origin in India, but these were developed to perfection in Iran. ("Some Inter-relations between Persian and Indian Architecture", Indian Arts and Letters, Vol. IX, London, 1935, pp. 107-08.)

9. The author has come across only one example of the true arch in India prior to the Muslim rule. It is in the Mahabodhi temple at Bodh Gaya which according to an inscription, was erected in the second century A.D. The temple has a series of brick arches and vaults in the main sanctuary. (Benjamin Rowland, The Art & Architecture of India, Penguin, Rep. 1970, p. 163, fig. 109.)

10. Satish Grover, The Architecture of India (Islamic), Delhi, 1981, p. xii.
Percy Brown goes to the extent of suggesting that the real excellence of the Indo-Islamic architecture was due to " the living knowledge and skill possessed by the Indian craftsmen, particularly in the art of working stone, in which they were unequalled." (Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), Vol. II, Bombay, Rep. 1975, p. 2.)

11. Sir John Marshall, "The Monuments of Muslim India" in The Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, ed. Wolseley Haig, Delhi, 1965, p. 571.

12. As many as twenty seven temples were pulled down to supply stone for the first mosque at Delhi, i.e., Quwwat-ul-Islam. (Edward Thomas, The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli, Delhi, 1967, p. 25.)

This practice, however, was not limited to India alone. The Great Mosque at Kufa was erected partly with materials looted from Hira. (Encyclopedia of World Art, Vol. VIII, London, 1963, p. 334.)

Before Muslims, the use of second hand material had become the dominating character of the early Christian art also. (R.A. Jairazbhoy, An Outline of Islamic Architecture, Bombay, 1972, p. 37.)

13. In Syria and Persia also, Muslims apparently utilised existing buildings. (Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, op.cit., p. 7.)

14. Marshall, loc. cit..

15. Ibid., pp. 572-73.

16. Ibid., p. 571.

17. Percy Brown, op. cit., p. 4.

18. Edwards Thomas, loc. cit.

19. Martin S. Briggs, "Muslim Architecture in India" in A Cultural History of India, ed. A.L. Basham, Oxford, 1975, p. 316.

20. The use of squinch arch and pendentive in order to corelate the circular rim of the dome to the square of the room, was a Sassanian contribution. (A.U. Pope, Persian Architecture, London, 1965, p. 75. ; Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture, op. cit., p. 321. & A.E. Richardson, The Art of Architecture, London, Rep. 1952, p. 40.)

The original Islamic solution of the problem was to use intersecting arches to reduce the square to an octagon and then corbel inwards from that. (Trewin Copplestone, ed., World Architecture, London, 1977, p. 161, fig. 445-46.)

21. The true arch had been discovered in Egypt as early as c. 2700 B.C., but the Egyptians had used it mainly in underground tomb structures and on a small scale. In Mesopotamia, the true arch was used for city gates. The Greeks knew the principle from the fifth century on, but they, like the Egyptians, confined the use of true arch to the underground structures or to simple gateways. The Porta Augusta in Perugia (Italy), a fotified city gate of the second century B.C., is the first instance we know in which arches were integrated with the vocabulary of the Greek orders into a monumental whole. The Romans were to develop this combination in a thousand ways, but the merit of having made the arch respectable, seems to belong to the Estruscans. (H.W. Janson, A History of Art, London, Rep. 1974, pp. 124, 128 and 129.)

22. Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-17.

23. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

26. *Ibid.*.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

29. An attempt in this direction had already been made in t he tomb of Shihabuddin Taj Khan, but it is in the tomb of Sikandar Lodi that the double dome becomes an accompolished fact. (*Ibid.*, p. 27) This feature attained maturity, about half a century later in the tomb of Humayun.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Dr. R. Nath is of the view that this mosque was commenced by Humayun and finished during the early period of Akbar's reign. (*A History of Mughal Architecture*, Part I, Delhi, 1982, p. 171.)

33. In Islamic architecture, the four-centred arch appeared as early as 772 A.D. The Baghdadi Gate at Raqqa (Syria) was the first monument in which we come across this arch. Although, it is usually called Persian, but according to Creswell, it is of Syrian origin. (*Early Muslim Architecture*, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 185 & 321.)

34. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

35. It was also an ancient Babylonian practice. Timber was let in as a bond in the Baghdad Gate at Raqqa also. (Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 & 184.) This practice was, however, not without risk to the solidity of the buildigg concerned.

36. Percy Brown, *loc. cit.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

39. R. Nath, *History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture*, Delhi, 1976, p. 4.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

41. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

42. R. Nath, *Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture*, Delhi, 1976, p. 5.

43. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

44. A.U. Pope's views on the origin of double dome are worth quoting. "Double-shell domes were a necessity and were early achieved. One of the noblest structures in Islam, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, had a double wooden dome, and several shrines in Iraq had double teakwood domes. But the wooden dome was too easily destroyed by fire, and the Seljuk masons preferred the single shell of brick.... Early in the fourteenth century the double dome in brick was decisively achieved, and the little mosque at Ziaret shows it clearly. Although M. Godard saw in the mausoleum of Oljeitu [at Sultaniyeh, dated 1305-13 A.D.] only an outer shell made to supply a smooth ground for the tile coverage, others see there a true double dome with a definite, though small, space separating the two, with some difference in profile, the outer shell being more pointed than the inner. Perhaps the resolution of the controversy is a matter of definition, and two shells do not constitute a double dome unless there is a space between large enough for the entry of a man. But the advantages of such a separation were obvious and it was only a matter of time before almost contemporary structures, like the tomb at Tus [near Mashhad in Iran] show widely separated shells." (*Persian Architecture*, op. cit., p. 262.)

Other early examples of the double dome are the mausoleum of Bibi Khanum, the wife of Timur (commenced in 1399 and finished in 1403) and the Emperor's own mausoleum known as Gur-Amir, both at Samarqand (now in U.S.S.R.). Creswell is of the view that the Samarqand examples are the first double domes and that this feature was introduced by Timur after his stay at Damascus. ("The History and Evolution of the Dome in Persia", *op. cit.*, pp. 692 & 701.)

45. Percy Brown, *loc. cit.*

46. R.A. Jairazbhoy, Early Garden-Palaces of the Great Mughals", *Oriental Art*, Vol. IV, London, Summer 1958, p. 74.

47. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

51. Satish Grover, *op. cit.*, p. xv.

52. *Badshah-Nama*, Vol. I , Calcutta, 1868, pp. 144-54 cited by R. Nath, *Some Aspects*..., op. cit., p. 153.

53. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, Plate VI, Fig. 1.

54. R. Nath, *History of Sultanate Architecture*, Delhi, n.d., Plate XXXIX.

55. S.A.A. Risvi & V.J.A. Flynn, <u>Fath-Pur Sikri</u>, Bombay, 1975, p. 44 & Plate nos. 33 & 34.
Percy Brown traces the origin of cusped arch from Arab sources, as seen in the 8th century mosque at Ukaider in Iraq. (<u>Op. cit</u>., p. 13.)

56. R. Nath, <u>Some Aspects</u>...., <u>op. cit</u>., p. 146.
The author is of the view that this feature was introduced in Mughal architecture by the Bengali artisans. (<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 148-49.)

57. Percy Brown, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 102.

58. R.E.M. Wheeler, <u>5000 years of Pakistan</u>, London, 1950, p. 111.

59. Coomaraswamy, <u>op. cit</u>., p.223.

60. Percy Brown, <u>op. cit</u>. , p. 111.

CHAPTER II

GARDENS

A love for flowers and gardens in India can be traced back to ancient times. Early Buddhist literature, Sanskrit plays and Shilpa-texts have a multitude of references to gardens.[1] For example, Bana's _Kadambari_ (first half of the seventh century) contains vivid accounts of palace-gardens and water-devices;[2] interesting references to artificial water-devices and water-houses appear in the _Samrangnasutradhara_ of king Bhoj (1018-55 A.D.), the most renowned Partihar king.[3] But the architectural specimens to substantiate these literary accounts are no longer extant.

The Sultans of Delhi also showed a considerable interest in laying out gardens. Firoz Shah Tughlaq (1351-88 A.D.) is said to have restored a number of gardens planted by Alauddin Khalji and laid out a large number of his own, in the vicinity of Delhi.[4] But, unfortunately, no garden of the period prior to the advent of the Mughals has survived. It appears that upto this time, the concept of a garden in India was that of a grove of trees, free-flowing rivulets of water and beds of flowers. The splendid garden tradition which culminated under the great Mughals was certaily introduced by Babur who himself imbibed it from Central Asian and Persian traditions.[5]

Persian tradition of garden craft may be traced as far back as the Sassanian period (224-650 A.D.).[6] It had been inspired from the much earlier Mesopotamian gardens.[7] The craft received

impetus under the Muslims as they found in the Persian gardens an earthly counterpart of the promised Quranic paradise.[8]

The Persian garden, almost as a rule, was a walled-in enclosure,[9] as it gave protection from wild beasts and marauders. It ensured privacy and created a little ideal kingdom. The plan of the garden used to be a regular arrangement of four squares, often subdivided into smaller plots with a lily pond or pleasure-pavilion in the centre.[10] This was called char-bagh plan.

The gardens, where they stood on the sides of the hills, were terraced.[11] Water was the nucleus of every garden.[12] It was manipulated beautifully in canals, lakes, ponds, cascades, chutes, fountains and waterfalls.[13] It surrounded and flowed under and through the palaces. Canals and tanks were so constructed as to keep the water brimming to the level of the paths on either side.[14] Walks and water-channels were bordered with flower-beds or straight lines of trees. Evergreen cypress and cool and refreshing shade-giving plane trees were favourite plantations.[15]

The Persian tradition was carried to Samarkand where Timur (1335-1405 A.D.), after the conquest of Persia, laid many beautiful gardens.[16] (Babur was a fifth generation descendant of Timur). The architects who planned these gardens, almost invariably, came from Iran.[17] The gardens were planted on hill sides or on artificial hills and hence these were terraced.[18] Describing their characteristic features, Edward Hyams writes that these gardens were "geometrical, architectural and formal, and were composed of many enclosures. Trees were of paramount importance....There were many pavilions, and there were streams....Even the orchards were regularly planted in enclosed courtyards whose walls were pierced by gateways...most beautifully ornamented with tile work in gold and blue.'

Babur was fully acquainted with these traditions of gardening. He conquered Samarkand a number of times and describes its beautiful gardens in his Memoirs.[20] His love for gardens is amply testified by the fact that he commemorated his victory over Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Panipat by laying there a garden, called the Kabuli Bagh.[21]

The pace and style set in gardening by Babur gradually "inflected to new conditions without losing its essential characteristics."[21] The result was a native style of unprecedented beauty.

The laying of gardens became a ruling passion not only with Mughal emperors but also with their queens, princes and nobles. They planted gardens to create pleasure-resorts or to provide a picturesque setting to their palaces and mausolea. Their passion crystalized in the splendid gardens still extent in Delhi, Agra, Lahore and above all in the vale of Kashmir.

At least ten gardens were laid out within the region under study, during the heyday of the Mughal empire. But as the gardens are the most impermanent of man's architectural creations, eight of them have disappeared leaving little or no trace thereof.[23] The two gardens that could survive extinction are - the little-known Aam Khas Bagh at Sirhind and the famous garden at Pinjore.

<u>Aam Khas Bagh at Sirhind</u> (District Patiala)

This garden is situated outside the town to the east of the road to Bassi Pathana.

The garden has the distiction of place, as this is the only Mughal garden which has been evolving all through the Mughal period. In contrast, all the other Mughal gardens were planned and

laid out by single patrons. The origin of this garden can be traced to the period of Akbar.

Sultan Hafiz Rakhna of Herat, the *shiqdar* or superintendent of Sirhind, laid out this garden and erected many other buildings, which, according to Badaoni, had not parallel in Hind.[24] In *Akbarnama*, his name appears in the list of the officers who served the State during Humayun's exile.[25] Here, he is introduced as a *faqir* who got employment with Humayun. Gradually, he became an envoy and obtained honour in the time of Akbar.

Emperor Akbar visited Sirhind in 1556 A.D. when while chasing Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the rebellious governor of Kabul, he sojourned here.[26] He was pleased to see the splendour of the bazaars and honoured Hafiz Rakhna by entrusting the *sarkardari* of Sirhind to him.[27] But till this time we get no reference to the existence of the garden. The earliest references to this garden appear simultaneously in two works. The first one being the *Commentary* of Father S.J. Monserrate, the leader of the First Jesuit Mission to the court of Akbar. He visited Sirhind in 1581 A.D. and saw the garden for himself.[28] At that time he was accompanying emperor Akbar. Abul Fazl also mentions Akbar's stay in this garden at Sirhind at that time.[29] So this garden appears to have been laid out sometime between 1566 and 1581 A.D. Abul Fazl refers to a devastating flood at Sirhind which occured in 1586 A.D. when "500 yards of the old garden was destroyed, and the 100 of the new one."[30] It implies that the new garden was in the process of being laid out at that time.

Sultan Hafiz Rakhna died in 1000 A.H. (the year began the 9th October, 1591) in his ninetieth year, and a beautiful chronogram[31]

with an apparent reference to the garden was written at this occasion.[32] His small but beautifully inscribed black marble tomb is still extant to the west of the garden.[33] After Hafiz Rakhna's death, the garden passed through many hands.

Jahangir mentions the garden in his Memoirs, in the 14th year of his reign, i.e., 1617 A.D. He showed a deep concern for it by appointing Khwaza Waisi, the karori of Sirhind, to keep up the garden as he was well acquainted with the science of horticulture as well as of buildings.[34] He was specially instructed by the Emperor to remove all the trees that had no freshness about them and to plant new trees, to clean up the iraqbandi[35] and repair the old buildings and erect other buildings in the shape of hammams etc., at appropriate places. Khwaza Waisi accompolished the task carefully and skilfully within the short duration of forty days.[36] Jahangir was pleased to see it, though he keenly felt the lack of former freshness in it.[37] He applauded Khwaza Waisi and promoted him from the order of 700 to that of 1000 horses.[38]

Again, on his way from Lahore to Agra during the 15th year of his reign, i.e., in 1618 A.D. Jahangir pitched his tent outside the town of Sirhind and ammused himself by going round the garden.[39]

In Badshah Nama, Abdul Hamid Lahori records Shah Jahan's five visits to Sirhind. On his first visit, in 1628 A.D., he stayed here for five days.[40] During his stay here, he ordered the erection of a few more buildings including Daulat Khana-i-Khas or his personal palace, Jharokha Mubarik or the interview window, Khabgah or the sleeping apartments and Mehtabi Chabutara or the moonlit platform, on the sides of the tank. Mir Ali Akbar, the karori of Sirhind was entrusted by the emperor with the completion

of the structure.[41] Before his departure, the emperor also ordered some modifications in the plans of the incomplete structures.

With the advent of Aurangzeb, a puritan zealot, an era of religious prosecution commenced. Guru Teg Bahadur's martyrdom at his hands brought him into direct conflict with the Sikhs. Wazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind, took cue from him. He not only assassinated two fo the tenth Sikh Guru Gobind Singh's sons but also hired assasins who stabbed Guru Gobind Singh to put an end to his life. The Sikhs did not take it lying down. In 1708 A.D., the Sikhs under Banda Bahadur's command sacked Sirhind and killed Wazir Khan. Later, the town was plundered many times by the irate bands of the Sikhs. During their last attack in 1763 A.D., Sirhind was annihilated.[42] It is therefore, obvious that the Aam Khas Bagh must also have suffered along with other buildings at the hands of the Sikhs.[43]

When Alexander Cunningham came here in 1860's, the garden was being used as a public audience hall by the Patiala rulers.[44] And perhaps they it were who rechristened this Mughal garden with the current name - Aam Khas Bagh. Previously, it was popularly known as Bagh-i-Naulakha.[45]

The garden plan is almost wholly two-dimensional. The whole complex comprises three sections. The northern gate served as the main entrance to the first and the second enclosures. (Fig. I).[46]

The first quadrangle of the garden complex measures 179 m. by 122 m. in area. It is enclosed by a four m. high brick wall, adorned with serrated battlements. The inner side of this wall is tastefully relieved with sunken panels. These panels were further

decorated with coloured borders, traces of which can still be seen here and there. The battlements also bear the marks of similar decoration.

Each of the four corners of this enclosume is marked with an octagonal bastion, surmounted with a domed pavilion. All the eight openings of the each domed pavilion are covered with cusped arches - so characteristic of Shah Jahan's period. Each dome is topped with a moulding resembling an inverted lotus flower which might have terminated into a metallic finial, the supporting rod of which is still extent there. Each bastion has a room below, perhaps meant for the use of watch guards.

On the inner side of the northern gateway is an extension of the gate in the form of a house. It appears to have been a much later addition, made probably when this gate was no longer in use as an entrance.

In the centre of this enclosure is the Mehtabi Chabutra. This double terraced platform was raised under the orders of Shah Jahan.[47] It measures 15.1 m. square. Its first terrace is approached by a double flight of steps on each of the four sides. The second terrace is approached by two steps on each side. The lower terrace has a one m. broad water channel. The platform is adorned with four water chutes, one in the middle of each side, down which water rippled from one level to the other. As per its name, from this platform the emperor might have been used to enjoy the spectacle of a moonlit night. Also, here he might often have held his court in the open. This platform would probably have been covered with a carpet as well as a canopy or tent over it, to avoid the sun. The eastern and the western walls of this enclosure are also pierced by one

simple gateway each.

Through an opening in the southern wall of the first enclosure we enter the second one which is 183 m. by 145 m. in area. (Fig. II). In its centre is a large tank, 98 m. by 145 m. with a flight of eight steps on all the four sides. An arched bridge, 2.2 m. broad, passes over it. This bridge has an octagonal platform raised in its centre. Two screen walls flank the tank on its eastern and western sides.

Many travellers have given an illuminating account of this tank. Father Monserrate calls it a "deep artificial lake" made to meet the scarcity of water.[48] He also makes reference to a tower in the middle of the tank, from which a pleasant view of the tank and the surrounding garden could be enjoyed. To William Finch, a British traveller who came here in 1611 A.D., it was a "summer house".[49] Frey Sebastian Manrique, a Portuguese missionary who visited Sirhind in 1641 A.D., describes it as a"circular chapel".[50] All the above views considered, the only probability of a structure in the centre of a tank can be that of a summer house. At present, only an octagonal platform in the centre of the tank survives.

It is not known for certain how this tank was filled with water. Father Monserrate writes that it was filled in the rainy season by the irrigation channels.[51] But for Shah Jahan who visited the garden in 1628 A.D. and also afterwards, other visitors have described it to have been full of water. Shah Jahan in Badshah Nama laments that it could never be filled with water.[52] Also all the attempts recently made by the Punjab Tourism Department to fill this tank failed.

Firoz Shah Tughlaq dug a canal to Sirhind in 1360 A.D. when he recast it into a separate district.[53] Upto Jahangir's reign this tank was filled , presumably by the irrigation chanels from the said canal of Firoz Tughlaq . The canal may have gone dead sometime before Shah Jahan's ascendancy. Then after his visit and under his orders Kandi Beg, presumably a Mughal official, brought a canal to it from Satluj.[54]

Adjoining the northern wall of the second enclosure of the garden is a double-storeyed building, known as Sheesh Mahal or the hall of mirrors. (Plate 1). Perhaps this is the building Shah Jahan refers to as the Jharokha Mubarik, ordered to be built by him.[55] It measures 16.3 m. by 8.9 m. There are five rooms on the ground floor, three of which open in^to^ a covered verandah and the other two smaller rooms into the larger central one. The same plan is repeated on the upper storey. The building is covered with three double domes, the central one being comparatively larger. Originally, glazed tile mosaics adorned these domes, traces of which still remain. The main motif for decoration - the four pointed star, has been repeated effectively to create a rich pattern. The central upper hall has a domical ceiling while the rest of the rooms are covered with flat arched roofs. The walls of the rooms are adorned with sunken panels. But the rest of the decoration seems to be of a much later date. The monotony of the facade is again relieved with sunken panels. The curved line of the wide eaves is echoed by the tops of the domes which have been so constructed as to give a crown-like effect. Here is a structure embodying all the stylistic innovations of Shah Jahan's period, i.e., the cusped arch, the bent cornice, and the curved roof in consonance with the arches below. Elegance combined with simplicity is apparent in this Sheesh Mahal.

Opposite the Sheesh Mahal, across the tank, is a large suite, known as Naughara, literally a structure having nine rooms. This structure spreads on an area of 29.6 m. by 13.5 m. It completely identifies in location with the Khabgah ordered to be constructed by Shah Jahan during his first visit to the garden.[56]

Adjoining the walls that enclose the second part of the garden are continuous suites ~~of rooms~~ meant, perhaps, for the queens and other family members who accompanied the emperor during his visit. Cunningham praises this enclosure for its spacious accommodation and additional buildings, which "must have contributed to the comfort and even the luxury of the place."[57] He concludes that the emperors used to sojourn at Sirhind.

In the eastern and the western courts each, one platform still survives. Each of them measures 22.5 m. by 10.4 m. In the corners of this enclosure are stables for elephants and horses.

Most of the rooms of this portion are in ruins.[58] All of them were first covered with flat ceilings. Their walls have alcoves of various sizes. The cusped arch of the Shah Jahan's period is invariably used for the entrances to the rooms.

It may be inferred from the foregoing paragraphs that although the tank already existed at this place, yet both the first and the second enclosures were added to the garden by the orders of Shah Jahan later on.

Coming out of the Naughara on the southern side, where the second enclosure ends, we enter the open garden. It was once enclosed by a high wall of strong baked bricks.[59]

There is a gateway in the northern wall of this open garden,

at its present eastern extremity which appeared to have served as an original entrance to the garden part of the complex. Manrique describes the existence of "four majestic and splendid gateways."[60] However, no trace of the remaining three gateways is extant. But as was usual in the Mughal gardens, these three gateways must have been on the three remaining cardinal sides, i.e., on east, west and south. Due to the absence of the surrounding wall, now the extremities of the garden on these three sides can not be determined with certainty.

In front of the Naughara is a small tank. A shallow water channel starting from the large well called Asmani Kuan or the high well, extends across the breadth of the garden. Water from the well fell in the channels in the form of a solid sheet in front of a prominent alcove wall. These alcoves or Chini-khanas as they were popularly called, housed golden vases of flowers by day and earthen lamps or camphorated candles at night[61] which glittered through the sheet of water. Such niches are present even in the earliest Mughal garden in Agra, i.e., Ram Bagh, laid out by Babur.[62] The inherent value of their superb effect was gradually recognized by the Mughal garden planners. Hence the vogue.

From the Naughara, runs a causeway about 12 m. broad, leading to the hammam. In the middle of this causeway runs a water channel, punctuated with carved fountains, and adorned on both sides with beds of flowers. In the midst of this causeway is a small tank, where, there is said to have been a well of three m. diameter.[63]

Manrique refers to a "very beautiful street or avenue, forty feet wide, adorned on both sides with cool, green willows, planted in orderly and compass-drawn lines, their shading and intertwining

tangled branches, which join overhead, making green leafy canopies with which they resist the luminous Planet, whose scorching rays are lost among the foliage and fail to reach below."[64] This causeway is also mentioned by Finch.[65] According to him, a small river was cut from the tank to the king's garden along this causeway. This causeway existed, most probably, in front of the northern gateway of the garden, discussed above. Further discussion about the buildings also tends to confirm this view. Also the remaining part of the extension of water channels eastwards testifies to the fact that the garden extended this way and the present northern gateway was in the middle of the northern wall. The garden was divided into four parts.[66]

At the end of the present causeway is the hammam, built, most probably, under the orders of Jahangir.[67] This building has fallen prey to inappropriate restoration. A hammam is normally entered through a single entrance which in this case is there on the southern side. But the 'restorers' have opened four gates in the northern wall also.

Exteriorly uninviting, this hammam is a block of three inter-connected rooms, measuring 29.5 m. by 9 m. with a projection, 4.5 m. by 6.3 m. (Fig. III). It was not as magnificent an establishment as the Turkish Sultana's Hammam or the Hakim's Hammam at Fatehpur Sikri, but a prototype reduced to its essentials. The earliest Muslim hammams, i.e., at Qusayr 'Amra and Hammam-as-Sarakh, also have three rooms each.[68] By analogy, we can roughly determine the purpose of each room in this hammam.

The entrance on the southern side leads into a vestibule A. To its left is a small suit B having latrines. An opening in the

centre of the right hand wall of the vestibule leads to the corridor C which has one room to its right and two to the left. The room D might have been the Apodyterium where the bather undressed and left his clothes. The room E would have served as the Tepidarium or warm room and the room F as the Calidarium or hot room. Miniature tanks have been sunk in the walls of the later room. In its western wall, there are tanks and furnaces G and H, with chimney holes above. In this last portion the mechanism of the hammam was operated. The ceilings of all the rooms bear stucco stalactites. (Plate 2). A raised tank I is on the outside, to and from which lead a number of terracotta pipes, running through the masonry walls. However, nothing can be said with certainty about the working of the system.

To the south-east of the hammam stands a double-storeyed building, known as Diwan Khana-i-Khas, or special apartments, now in utter ruins.[69] (Plate 3). It is an almost square building, measuring 22 m. by 21 m., comprising a central room, two storeys high and surrounded with smaller rooms. In the middle of the central room is an octagonal tank. The south-west corner of the room is occupied by an alcove wall used to place small lamps. When water fell from above in front of these lamps, in the form of a plate, these reflected through it, thus offering a pleasing view. The whole building was tastefully painted with designs executed in bright colours, the traces of which still survive. Rodgers mentions two minarets surmounting this building.[70] These minarets were extant not very long ago.

In front of this building are the remains of a number of beautiful fountains and tanks.

At a distance of about 20 m. from the Diwan Khana-i-Khas is the structure known as the Sarad Khana or cool palace. It measures 29.5 m. by 18 m. (Fig. IV). Through the projected portal A one enters a long corridor B. With a gentle slope it leads to the room C with the effect that the floor of this room is two m. lower than the ground level outside. The depth of level helped the rooms keep cold. In the southern wall of the room C is a water chute from which water rippled down to fall into the octagonal tank in the centre of the room. The room C is attached to other rooms F, G, E and D. The room D opens onto the well M. Terracotta pipes have been embedded in the walls of the rooms. The small compartments H, I, J, K and L have a complex system of tanks and furnaces. From these compartments was operated the cooling mechanism of this building. How this system produced a cooling effect is a matter for further research.

The walls of the rooms bear traces of painted decorations. Such pleasure haunts were appropriated for the luxury of the voluptuous Mughals and their favourites in the haram.

In the south-west corner of the garden there are some traces of a structure, said to have been known as the Rang Mahal or a palace of pleasure. In all probability, the palace described by William Finch[71], Jahangir[72] and Manrique[73] is the same building having virtually little remains. William Finch describes it as "an eight square mohol with eight chambers for women, in the midst there of a faire tank; over these, eight other rooms with faire galleries round about; in the top of all a faire jounter [chabutra]; the whole building curiously wrought in stone, with faire painting, rich carving and pargetting...."[74]

The above inference is based on the fact that the foundations

of this extinct Rang Mahal are exactly in alignment with the northern gateway from where the old causeway led. Finch indicates the location of this palace at the crossing of two main causeways.[75] The other causeway, then, most probably was that which joined the eastern and the western gateways.

Wells were the major source of water for the garden. Two of these still exist. The parapet of the largest well, the Asmani Kuan was constructed very high so that water flowed through the channels topping the enclosing wall of the garden. From these high channels water rippled down the chutes, fell in the form of solid sheets in front of chini-khanas and gushed out of the fountains in solid plumes. Then, it flowed leisurely in the ground channels, finally falling into the tank.

Although such artificial devices add to the effect, the real ornaments of a garden are its flowers and trees. In this respect, all Mughal gardens have most profoundly changed today. The planting can be merely guessed at from the accounts of the contemporary travellers. Manrique refers to funreal obelisk-shaped cypresses which divided the garden into four sections.[76] One section contained every kind of fruit trees, a second every kind of flowers and odoriferous herbs in abundance, in the third section were vegetables of all kinds and in the fourth palaces etc. The garden yielded such a rich crop that it was annually leased for fifty thousand rupees.[77]

The Garden at Pinjore (District Ambala)

Situated by the Chandigarh-Kalka road, at a distance of about 20 km. from Chandigarh is the celebrated Mughal garden at Pinjore. It was laid out under the aegis of Fidai Khan Koka,[78] the foster

brother of Aurangzeb, during the fourth regnal year of the emperor (20th April, 1661 - 9th April, 1662).[79] His real name was Muzaffar Hussain but he was commonly known by the appelation of Fidai Khan.[80]

Previously, a garden at Pinjore is said to have been destroyed by Timur.[81] It is an interesting coincidence that Babur in February, 1526, some weeks before his victory of Panipat, laid out his first Char-bagh at Pinjore.[82]

It is said that after building this splendid garden, Fidai Khan did not live here for long and his flight from Pinjore is ascribed to a curious story.[83] After his departure, the garden was occupied by the Raja of Nahan in 1675 A.D.[84] But its latter occupants appear to have taken little interest in its upkeep. On April 6, 1711, Ghazi Khan Bahadur Rustam Jang, master of the horse, informed Bahadur Shah I that the thieves had cut off the trees of the garden and only eight cypress trees remained there.[85] Later, in 1778 A.D., Raja Amar Singh of Patiala bought the garden along with a considerable area for Rs 60,000 and annexed it to his state.[86] In the later part of the nineteenth century, Maharaja of Patiala leased the garden and the fruit trees therein to contractors for about Rs 1100 per anum.[87] The garden, at some later date, was rechristened Yadvindra Garden, after the late Maharaja of Patiala State.

At present, the garden is under the Haryana Tourism Department. Most of its buildings have been 'repaired' and appropriated for offices, a hotel, a bar, a restaurant etc.

Taking advantage of the natural slope running down to the Ghaggar torrent, this garden was laid out here in six terraces "in faithful tradition of Shalimar."[88]

The whole garden, about half a kilometre in length, is enclosed by a high wall. The material for the enclosing wall appears to have been appropriated from the debris of ancient buildings. A large number of fragments of sculptures, built in the wall, can still be seen.[89] As many as five entrances provide inlets to the enclosure, i.e., two on the northern side and one on each of the three remaining sides.

The gateway in the eastern wall served as the main entrance. It is 14.3 m. broad, 9.2 m. deep and rises, in two storeys, to a height of 8.6 m. including battlements. The facade is pierced by a 2.4 m. broad central arch. The entrance is flanked by two storeys of 1.8 m. deep recesses. Each lower recess gives access to a room, measuring 2.4 m. by 2.2 m. From the inner side, one flight of steps on either side ascends to the second storey room, measuring 2.4 m. by 1.8 m. Perhaps, the gateway provided living quarters for the caretakers of the garden.[90]

The usual Mughal garden plan has been reversed at Pinjore as here we enter the garden from the highest terrace. This, 164 m. broad terrace stretches to a length of 88 m.

First we reach a rectangular platform having seats on three sides. The main stream of the garden starts from the back of the central seat. Water gushes out of a stone vase, once fed by a hill stream to which it was connected by an acqueduct. A set of rooms, measuring 10.6 m. by 9.6 m. is built across the stream. The structure is surmounted with a graceful pavilion having a curved roof and small side domes.[91] Stuart refers to this building as baradari.[92] Some people also call it Sheesh Mahal.

Through the walls flanking this little palace, doors open on to the second terrace, 2.3 m. lower than the first. It was

Purdah garden for the ladies and hence enclosed by high walls to ensure privacy. The water of the stream after running beneath the above-mentioned building falls over a projected ledge, in front of a wall having six rows of fifteen small niches each (Plate 4). The Aam Khas Bagh also had such niched screens. Their bewitching effect can be visualised from the following description by Suart: "When the little earthen lamps are lit, they twinkle through the shining falls of water like green glow-worms; while the rosy warmth of light within the white pavilion [the so-called Baradari] gives the illusion of some huge transparent shell, poised above the water fall, its curving back showing dimly against the twilight sky and the darker blue of the mountain beyond."[93]

The western side of the (67.5 m. long) second terrace is occupied by a palace called Rang Mahal [94] (Plate 5). It measures 37.4 m. by 9.2 m. and comprises two sets of apartments on either side of an open hall, 14.4 m. broad. The wooden ceiling of the hall is supported on tapering and fluted double pillars. Similar single pillars have also been used in the upper storey recesses on the facade of the gateway. Under the archways of the hall flows the main canal.

The unsymmetrical super-structure, atop the said palace, apparently a later addition, is an eyesore.

The painted decorations of the lower apartments had been destroyed even before Stuart's visit.[95] But the smallest room on the upper storey, according to him, retained its original decoration. "The walls of this room", praises Stuart, " were white, plastered with the old highly polished chunam (lime); and the delicate designs half painted and half moulded, brought back to mind inlaid work of Agra and Delhi.

"The Kashmir lacquer of the ceiling shone fresh as ever....

even the old doorways were there, the woodwork painted with bouquets of flowers in vases - always a favourite Mughal design - against a dull green background."[96] But all the rooms of the upper storey were erected, perhaps, by the rulers of Patiala State. Therefore, the said decoration belongs to a comparatively later period.

On this terrace, there is a block of rooms on the northern and southern sides also.

The water running under the Rang Mahal, passes in front of a prominent niche screen comprising nine rows of fifteen alcoves each. A tank measuring 14.1 m. by 9.1 m. receives the fall. There from, it ripples down a scalloped chute.

From the terrace of the Rang Mahal, steps descend through the thickness of the wall, coming out on the halfway platform and then continue in a second flight leading down to the third terrace which is 7.8 m. lower than the preceding one. In length, it is equal to the first terrace. But from here onwards, terraces become 347.4 m. broad, more than double of its earlier breadth.

A large tank, measuring 41 m. square, dominates the fourth terrace which is 108.3 m. long and 2.4 m. lower than the third. From the northern bank of the tank, a 2.4 m. broad causeway leads to a little water-palace. Now it has been changed into a restaurant. The building measures 9.5 m. by 6.8 m. with a 12.5 m. broad terrace in front. It is placed slightly to the northern side of the centre of the tank "to leave an uninterrupted view down the main canal from the upper garden."[97] (Plate 6). Fountains jet prismatic plumes into the air around this little palace. On each side of the tank, Stuart witnessed a water-course which was dry

even at that time, but which showed him where, in former days, canals from this tank led up to the gateways on the either side.[98] Viewed from this terrace, the Rang Mahal, poised against the dramatic backcloth of the mountains, offers a picturesque sight.

The fifth terrace, 1.7 m. lower and 63.3 m. long, has no building.

The next terrace is 2.8 m. lower than the previous one. It is 80.8 m. long. The total drop here comes up to 17.0 m. At its far end is a platform of 22.0 m. by 7.5 m. size. The western wall has a stage-set gateway "intended more to complete the design than for any use it served."[99]

When Moorcraft and Trebeck visited the garden in March, 1820, besides Lombardy poplars it contained mango , orange, apple and pomegranate trees which bore fruit.[100] Poppies and sugarcane were also cultivated in some of its divisions, and in another division, there were roses from which a small supply of scent was annually manufactured for the Raja's use.[101]

This captivating garden was the last major expression of the Mughal garden art.

FOOTNOTES

1. C.M.V. Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, London, 1913, p. 3.

2. R. Nath, History of Mughal Architecture, Part I, Delhi, 1982, p. 80.

3. Ibid., p. 83.

4. Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. III, Allahabad, n.d., p. 345.

5. Stuart, op. cit., p. 4.

6. D.N. Wilber, Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions, Tokyo, 1962, pp. 31 & 34.

7. Edward Hyams, A History of Gardens and Gardening, London, 1971, p. 80.

8. There are about 120 references to gardens in the Quran. (E.B. Moynihan, Paradise as a Garden, London, 1982, p. 154.)

9. A.U. Pope, An Introduction to Persian Art, London, 1930, p. 206.

10. Wilber, op. cit., p. 34.

11. The garden called Hazar Jerib at New Isfahan was made in twelve terraces. (Hyams, op. cit., p. 217.)

12. Ibid., p. 80.

13. R. Nath, Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture, Delhi, 1976, p. 2.

14. Stuart, op. cit., p. 13.

15. Pope, op. cit., p. 208.

16. Moynihan, op. cit., p. 50.

17. Wilber, op. cit., p. 67.

18. Hyams, op. cit., p. 86.

19. Ibid.

20. Babur, Babur-Nama, tr. A.S. Beveridge, Delhi, Rep. 1979, pp. 62, 78, 80-82, 92 and 138.

21. For more details see pp. 168-72 of the thesis

22. Sylvia Crowe, "The Persian Background", The Gardens of

Mughal India, Delhi, 1973, p. 21.

23. For some details of the extinct Mughal gardens see Appendix A.

24. Al-Badaoni, Muntakhabu't Tavarikh, Vol. II, tr. W.H. Lowe, Delhi, 1973, pp. 393-94.

25. Abul Fazl, Akbar Nama, Vol. I, tr. H. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1907, p. 451.

26. Khwaza Nizammuddin Ahmed, Tabakat-i-Akbari, Vol. II, tr. B. De, Calcutta, 1936, p. 323.

27. Ibid.

28. S.J. Monserrate, The Commentary of, London, 1922, p. 102.

29. Abul Fazl, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 546.

30. Ibid., p. 761.

31. A chronogram consists of grouping together, in a word or in a short phrase, a group of letters whose numerical equivalents, added together, provide the date of an event. The chronograms are commonly included in inscriptions. For more details on the art of composing chronograms, see Qeyammuddin Ahmad, "A Note on the Art of composing Chronograms", Islamic Culture, Vol. XLVI, No. 2, Hyderabad, January, 1972, pp. 163-69 and D.V. Chauhan, "Al-Djumal and Decimal Notation in Indo-Muslim Epigraphy", Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Vol. XXXII, Session, 1970, pp. 376-86.

32. Badaoni, op. cit., p. 394.
The chronogram runs as under:
" A fissure came to the garden, And the water flowed away."
His name Rakhna means "fissure". The verse may also be rendered "Rakhna went to Paradise, the glory departed." The numerical value of bagh "garden" is 1003 and that of ab "water" is three, take three from 1003 and you get the date 1000. (Ibid.)

33. For a picture of this tomb and more plates of the garden, see
Subhash Parihar, " A Little Known Mughal Garden in India : Aam Khas Bagh, Sirhind", Oriental Art, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, London, Winter 1985/86, pp. 421-32.

34. Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Book II, tr. A. Rodgers & H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, p. 113.

35. The translators of the Tuzuk are not certain about the meaning of the word. Most probably, it meant 'footpaths'. (Ibid., f.n.)

36. Memoirs of Emperor Jahanguair, tr. Major David Price, Delhi, n.d., p. 233.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-34.

39. Jahangir, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

40. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, text, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1872, p. 115.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16.

42. The Sikhs still think it a meritorious act to take away a brick from the ruins of Sirhind and to drop it in the Satluj or the Jamuna river.

43. The Punjab Government took steps to revive the old outlay of the garden in 1975-76 A.D. [B.K. Thapar, *Indian Archaeology* (1975-76), New Delhi, 1979, p.141]

44. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II, Varanasi, 1972, p. 211.

45. Dr. Bhagat Singh, "Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla", *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. XVIII-II, Patiala, October, 1984, pp. 112-13.

46. Charles Rodgers had also prepared 81 ground plans of a number of monuments in the region under study for his *Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1888-89* (Calcutta, 1891.) But all the plates are missing from the copies of the *Report* available in India and abroad. In this concern, the present scholar wrote to the India Office Library, London. Miss Dorothy Walker, Serials Librarian replied vide letter no. 101R/PP/83 dated June 9, 1983 as follows:
"Our copy of the report (IOL:SW55) does not contain plates, which are listed I - LXXXI in the preliminary pages. It seems to me likely that the plates were not included in the report. I looked into this question on behalf of another reader a few years ago and at that time I asked our Prints and Drawings Section if they had the photographs concerned in a separate collection as in the late 19th century separate plates, either printed or negative photographs, were often sent to the United Kingdom separate from the reports. I am afraid they could not trace these plates, we are unable to help you."
So, the present scholar has himself prepared all the fifty ground plans included in the thesis.

47. Lahori, *loc. cit.*

48. Monserrate, *loc. cit.*

49. William Foster (ed.), *Early Travels in India*, London, 1921, p. 158.
An account of this garden also appears in *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, (tr. J.S. Hoyland, Delhi, 1975, pp. 49-50.) This work

is an English translation of De Laet's Dutch original Description of India and Fragments of Indian History. But De Laet has drawn his account of the garden from Finch's work.

50. E.D. Maclagan, " The Travels of Frey Sebastian Manrique in Punjab in 1641", Journal of Punjab Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1, Lahore, 1911, p. 87.
This article has also been reprinted in The Punjab Past and Present, Vol. II, Part II, Patiala, October, 1968, pp.224-78.

51, Monserrate, loc. cit.

52. Lahori, loc. cit.

53. Ferishta, History of the Rise of Mahommedan Power in India, Vol I, tr. John Briggs, London, 1829, p. 453.

54. Phulkian State Gazetteer, Lahore, 1909, p. 209.
A part of a popular saying of this area refers to Kandi Beg and his canal thus:
Bale O Raja Kandi, Teri nahar chale Sirhindi
(Bravo O King Kandi, here flows your Sirhind canal)

55. Lahori, op. cit., p. 115.

56. Ibid.
Now this structure has been modified and appropriated for a restaurant by the Punjab Tourism Department.

57. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 212.

58. The remaining rooms have been modified to provide with accommodation for some government employees.

59. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 88.

60. Ibid.

61. Sheila Haywood, " The Emperors and their Gardens", The Gardens of Mughal India, op. cit., p. 153. and Amal-i-Salih, fols. 580-83 (Delhi Fort, ASI, 1929) quoted in The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, ed. Sir Richard Burn, Cambridge, 1937, p. 558.

62. R. Nath, "Landscape Architecture and Gardening of the Mughals", Marg, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, Bombay, December, 1972, p. 24.

63. In this connection, the present scholar interviewed two persons: 1) Mr. Ved Parkash of Bassi Pathana, 4 km to the east of the garden and 2) Mr. Ramzan Khan of Patiala. Sirhind is the ancestral town of Mr. Ved Parkash. Mr. Ramzan Khan's family has been serving in the garden since generations. So both these persons are eyewitnesses to a number of now extinct buildings and wells etc. in this garden.

64. Maclagan, loc. cit.

65. Foster, loc. cit.

66. Ibid.

67. Jahangir, op. cit., p. 113.

68. K.A.C. Cresswell, Early Muslim Architecture, Pelican, 1958, pp. 84-87 & 99-101.

69. In local parlance, this building is also called Taiyan Ghar or a place for dancing etc. Some other people think it to be Bhulbhulaiyan or a place for playing hide and seek.

70. Rodgers, op. cit., p. 7

71. Foster, loc. cit.

72. Memoirs, loc. cit.

73. Maclagan, loc. cit.

74. Foster, loc. cit.
Such a pavilion was called Hasht-Behisht or Eight Paradises and was a permanent feature of Persian gardens.

75. Ibid.

76. Maclagan, loc. cit.

77. Foster, loc. cit.

78. Koka, more fully Kokaltash, is an eastern Turkic word signifying foster brother. (S.A.A. Rizvi & V.J.A. Flynn, Fathpur-Sikri, Bombay, 1975, p. 81.)

79. Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulastut-Tawarikh, Pbi. tr. Ranjit Singh Gill, Patiala, 1972, p. 37.

80. Aurangzeb honoured him with the title of Azim Khan about 1676 A.D. He died on 9th Rabi ul-Akhir, 1089 (21st April, 1678). For more details of his career, see Nawwab Samsamuddaula Shah Nawaz Khan, The Maathir-ul-Umara, Vol.I, tr. H. Beveridge, Patna, n.d., pp. 311-14.

81. Sheila Haywood, " The Emperors and their Gardens", op.cit., p. 187.

82. Babur, op. cit., p. 465.

83. Fidai Khan is said to have requested a hill Raja to send his haram to the garden for an interview with his wives. The Raja sent those of his female servants who were suffering from goitre. Fidai Khan's wives were terrified on hearing that the climate bred such a disease and pursuaded the Khan to leave the place. (Ambala District Gazetteer, Lahore, 1925, p. 139.)
A similar story is narrated by Stuart in his book.(op. cit., pp. 203-04.)

84. Ganda Singh, "Panjaur", The Tribune, Ambala, January26, 1954, p. 12.

85. Bhagat Singh, op. cit., p. 58.

86. Ambala District Gazetteer, op. cit., p. 138. & Ganda Singh, loc. cit.

87. Objects of Antiquarian Interest in Punjab & its Dependencies, Lahore, 1875, Part III, pp. 4-5.

88. R. Nath, " Landscape Architecture...", op. cit., p. 24.

89. These sculptures were first noticed by Rodgers. (Op. cit., p. 30.)

90. The building was occupied by a Thanedar, on the part of the Raja of Patiala when William Moorcraft and George Trebeck came here in March, 1820. (Travels in the Himalayan Provinces and the Punjab; in Ladakh & Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, Patiala, Rep. 1970, p. 21.)

91. The details of the buildings in the garden have been altered by Patiala rulers and recently by the Haryana Tourism Department. So the details of the buildings have not been described here.

92. Stuart, op. cit., p. 210.

93. Ibid., p. 212.

94. The Raja of Patiala used this building as a rest house during his visits to the garden (Ambala District Gazetteer, op. cit., p. 138.)

95. Stuart, op. cit., p. 220.

96. Ibid., pp. 220-21.

97. Ibid., p. 224.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.

100. Moorcraft & Trebeck, loc. cit.

101. Ibid.

CHAPTER III

SARAIS

Medieval India lacked advanced means of transport. People used oxen, bullock-carts, camels and horses for conveyance. Due to the great distances between commercial centres and the constant menace of marauders, they travelled in large groups or caravans. After the tiring day-long journey, some secure shelters were indispensable for the night-stay. The sarais served the purpose. A sarai is a large building for temporary use of travellers with their pack animals.

In providing facilities, a sarai was the medieval equivalent of a modern American motel. Francoise Bernier, a French physician who spent six years in India during the Mughal period, was impressed by the design, utility and grandeur of a Mughal sarai so much so that he made the following proposal : "If in Paris we had a score of similar structures distributed in different parts of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them for a few days until they had seen their acquaintance and looked out at leasure for some more convenient apartments."[1]

Apart from their practical utility, these magnificent sarais reflected the glory, vanity, power, personal or dynastic wealth of their builders.Hence these served as a testimony of the donor's prestige.

The institution of sarai did exist in India even before the advent of the Mughals. In ancient times, the Buddhist monasteries served the purpose.[2] Pilgrims as well as marchants could get boarding and lodging in these religious establishments.

The first Muslim ruler of India to have shown a keen interest

in the development of the sarais was the Pathan emperor Sher Shah Sur (1540-45 A.D.), well known for his works of public welfare. He is credited to have built sarais at the distance of every two kos (about eight kilometers).[3] But before the advent of the Mughals, it remains to be affirmed whether or not the sarais in India used to have a typical architectural form. What the Mughals really contributed was a fixed and utilitarian architectural form for its building.

Abul Fazl mentions the erection of sarais by emperor Akbar.[4] In 1607 A.D., Jahangir ordered the zamindars on Agra-Lahore route "that spacious serrais, choultries or places of rest and refreshment, substantially built of brick or stone, so as to be secure against early decay, should be erected at the termination of every eight kosse, for the whole distance, all provided with baths, and to everyone a tank or reservoir of fresh water; a certain number of attendants was also allotted to every serrai, for the purpose of sweeping and keeping clean, and in other respects to take care of them."[5]

The traditoon of building sarais continued unabated during the reigns of his successors. Besides emperors, some magnanimous magnates also built such sarais to immortalise their names.[6]

As the greater part of the Mughal route from Agra to Lahore passed through the states of the Punjab and Haryana,[7] the finest specimens of the Mughal sarais lie in these two states.

Most of these sarais follow a fixed plan. Only the sarais at Shahabad, Thanesar and Sultanpur Lodi deviate in certain features. The general character of the rest of the sarais under study can be summarised as follows: Each sarai is invariably a square or rectangular enclosure with high battlemented curtain wall (Fig. VII). Each corner of the enclosure is strengthened with a bastion. The access to the enclosure is provided through

two splendid gateways, set on opposite sides and wide enough to permit entry to large and heavily laden animals like camels. These portals are so large as to accommodate a large number of rooms of various shapes, in two or three storeys. A resident staff of caretakers might have been permanently housed in these rooms. It is the architectural and decorative treatment of these gateways where the architects lavishly gave vent to their greatest skill and imagination so much so that it became the keynote of the style.

The central courtyard of each sarai is always open to sky and along the inside walls of the enclosure are ranged small rooms to accommodate travellers. The middle portion of each side other than those having gateways, is emphasised with a larger block of rooms, meant perhaps for the travellers of rank. Each corner of the sarais also has a larger room or a set of rooms.

Every sarai has a mosque for public worship; one or more than one well for supplying drinking water and sometimes a hammam or bath suite.

The date of erection of only a few of the sarais described on the following pages, is known for certain. In some cases, historical evidence helps date them approximately. In the rest of the cases, the sarais have been tentatively dated on the basis of their architectural style although J.Ph. Vogel warns us that the " arguments of style are often misleading."[8] Therefore, the chronological order in which the sarais have been described here could be nothing but rough.

Sarai at Fatehabad (District Amritsar)

In 1606 A.D., the royal army of Jahangir, under the command

of Sheikh Farid Bukhari, defeated the rebel prince Khusrau at a place near Goindwal.[9] The place was named Fatehabad and a sarai was built there to commemorate the victory.[10] This is the earliest surviving sarai in the region under study the date of erection of which is known for certain.

At present, the area inside and outside the sarai is thickly populated. Only its gateways, a few of the rooms and a small mosque are extant. Even these structures have been appropriated for private accommodation.[11]

The gateways of the sarai, standing opposite to each other are impressive structures. The western gateway is 27.6 m. broad and bracketed with octagonal domed bastions. (Fig. V & Plate 7). Its facade is pierced by a 6.4 m. broad arch, flanked with two storeys of recesses. The archway, 5.4 m. broad, has a 1.4 m. deep verandah on either side. On the ground floor, the gateway has two rooms, each measuring 7.1 m. by 2.7 m. and is accessible from the inner side. One flight of stairs on either side leads to the upper storey which comprises two rooms, each measuring 7.1 m. by 3.3 m. and two small octagonal chambers, accommodated in the bastions. (Fig. VI). From this storey, only one stairway approaches the top. A domed square pavilion marks each inner corner of the gateway.

Glazed tiles of lemon yellow, green, turquoise and cobalt blue colours adorn the facade of the gateway. The designs, geometrical in nature, were first formed with raised ridges of bricks and then the spaces in between filled with tiles. (Plate 8).

But for some difference of details of decoration, the eastern gateway too, is similar in design.

The total area covered by the sarai is difficult to measure as it is crowded with new structures. One can, however, have a rough idea of its size from the fact that the distance between its gateways is about 200 m.

Each room meant for common travellers measures 3.4 m. by 3.2 m. and is fronted with a 2.2 m. deep porch.

The small mosque in the courtyard of the sarai is unimpressive. Three archways on the facade lead to its interior, measuring 8.0 m. by 3.4 m. Answering each archway is a mihrab in the western wall of the mosque. The domes which once roofed the mosque are not extant.

The sarai bears no inscription.

Sarai Nurmahal (District Jalandhar)

The most famous of the Mughal sarais that were built along the Agra-Lahore road, is situated at Nurmahal, 20 km. to the west of Phillaur. The local tradition relates that Nur Jahan was brought up in this town.

Due to depredations at the hands of man and time, about half of the sarai has vanished. A row of shops facing the town has replaced its northern wall. The surviving portion of the building has been appropriated for a number of government offices.[12] But whatever portion of the sarai is extant, is enough to make its conjectural restoration possible.

The sarai is a 168 m. square from outside, including the octagonal bastions at corners (Fig. VII). The enclosing wall is battlemented and provided with loopholes. Each side of the corner bastions measures 2.2 m. One portal is projected in its eastern and western side each. The eastern gateway is in ruins

whereas the wetern one still stands in its pristine glory.

The western gateway measures 18 m. north to south and 13.1 m. east to west and rises in three storeys (Plate 9). A four m. broad passage forms the entrance. It is flanked by a 2.4 m. deep verandah, each giving access to a small cabin, measuring 2.0 m. by 1.6 m. (Fig. VIII). The roofs of the verandahs are modern constructions.

On the inner side, one staircase on either side gives access to the middle storey (Fig. IX). It comprises three compartments and three verandahs of different shapes on either side. All these are covered with curved roofs of various shapes.

Two flights of steps from the terrace lead to the top floor (Fig. X). Only its front portion is covered. The main room measures 5.4 m. by 2.9 m. Three oriels are projected from this storey. Just before the oriels, there is a barrel-vaulted gallery, approached by a couple of steps on both sides. The floor of this gallery has an opening (first noticed by Sheo Narain).[13] He seems to be right when he says that this aperture was meant to pour down through it burning hot liquid or other explosives below over the heads of those who might force open the gate .

This gateway has a veneer of red sandstone, with its surface marked into panels. These panels are filled with scenes depicting elephant-riders, fairies, peacocks, elephant-lion fights, camels, rhinos, human beings etc. all executed in low relief (Plate 10). This gateway has the pride of place being the only one in India so profusely decorated with such motifs.

The sides of the gateway have been embellished with foliated scroll-work inhabited by birds (Plate 11). Besides, there are

geometrical patterns. Angles of the gateway are softened with graceful pilasters, terminating above parapet into open flower pinnacles, giving it a feeling of lightness. These pilasters have been chevroned. The spandrels are filled with rosettes.

What imparts elegance to the whole is, perhaps, the presence of three beautifully designed oriels, a large one on either side and a smaller one in the centre. These oriels are supported by elephant and peacock brackets. Below the central window runs the following inscription:[14]

Text:

"Ba-daur adl Jahangir Shah Akbar Shah
kih asman-o-zamin misl-au nadarad yad
binai Nur Sara shud ba-khitah-Phalor
ba-hukam Nur Jahan Begam farishtah-nihad
barai sal bineyash sukhan vare khush guft
ke shud za Nur Jahan Begam ain Sara abad 1028
chu, shud tamam khirad guft bahar tarikhash
ba-shud za Nur Jahan Begam ain Sara abad 1030"

Translation:

"During the just rule of Jahangir Shah, son of Akbar Shah,
whose like neither heaven nor earth remembers,
The Nur Sarai was founded in the district of Phalor
By the command of the angel-like Nur Jahan Begam.
The date of its foundation the poet happily discovered
'This sarai was founded by Nur Jahan Begum' (1028)
The date of its completion wisdom found in the words
'This sarai was erected by Nur Jahan Begam' (1030)"

The sixth and the eighth line of the inscription form

chronograms. According to these, the foundation of the sarai was laid in 1028 A.H. (the year began the 9th December, 1618) and its construction was accomplished in 1030 A.H. (the year began the 16th November, 1620) under the aegis of Nur Jahan.

Another epigraph is incised on the lower part of the right jamb of the doorway (Plate 12). Its text runs as follows:[15]

"Akhaz rahdari abwab
Mamnuah bamujib amar Nawab
Zakariya Khan bahadur Nazim
Subah muaf harkas az. Fojda-
ran Doabah bagirad. bar zanao.
talak. talak. talak."

Translation:

"Taking payment from travellers is forbidden, the Nawab Zakariya Khan,[16] Bahadur, Governor of the district, having exempted them. Should any Fojdar of the Doab collect these dues, may his wives be divorced."[17]

The time-torn eastern gateway also used to bear an inscription. But it was lost even before Cunningham's visit to the sarai in 1878-79 A.D. But a copy of its text was, fortunately, preserved by one of the inhabitants of the town from whom Cunningham procured it and recorded it in his Report. This inscription read as follows:[18]

Text:

"Shahe Jahan badaur Jahangir badshah
Shanhinshahe zamin-o-zaman saya Khuda
Mamur kard baake Jahan ra ba-adl-o-dad
ta-asman rasid bina bar sara bina

Nur-e-Jahan ke hamdam-o-hamsaz khas ast

jarmud ain Sarai wasi e sipahar sa

Chun ain binai kher ba rue zemin nihad

bada binai umrash javed bar baka

tarikh ain chun gasht murattib ba-guft akal

abad shud za Nur Jahan Begam ain Sarai"

Translation:

"During the reign of Jahangir Badshah, lord of the Universe,

king of kings of this world and his time, the shadow of God.

The fame of whose goodness and justice overspread the earth

Until it reached even the highest heavens above.

His wife and trusted companion, Nur Jahan,

commanded the erection of this Sarai, wide as the heavens.

When this fortunate building rose upon the face of the earth,

May its walls last for ever and ever!

The date of its foundation wisdom found in the words

'This Sarai was founded by Nur Jahan Begam'."

The last line of this inscription also forms a chronogram which yields the date 1028 A.H., the year of its foundation. Obviously, this inscription was put up earlier than the other.

In its pristine condition, the courtyard of the sarai was surrounded with 32 rooms on each side. At present, only half of these are extant. Each room measures 3.3 m. square with a 2.6 m. deep porch in front. Each room is entered through a 1.1 m. broad opening, having a ventilator above.

Each corner of the sarai had a set of three rooms, extant in the southwest and the southeast corners (Fig. XI). The central room measures 4.0 m. square, having a 2.4 m. deep

semi-octagonal recess on each side. The recess in the back wall gives access to an octagonal chamber of 1.7 m. side, forming the interior of the corner bastions of the enclosure. Smaller rooms of the set measure 4.0 m. by 2.5 m. each. Each corner of the sarai also had one octagonal room of 1.3 m. side on the upper storey, extant in the southwest corner (Fig. XII).

In the middle of the southern side, there is a double-storeyed set of rooms.[19] On the ground floor, the central room measures 4.3 m. square with 2.1 m. deep recesses in the side walls and a 2.7 m. deep semi-octagonal recess in the back wall (Fig. XIII). From outside, one flight of steps on either side communicated to the upper storey which is a larger set as here each side recess of the central room opens into a 3.4 m. square room (Fig. XIV). From the main room two flights of steps approached the top terrace. One of these has been bricked up now.

As usual, a similar set of rooms must have been there in the middle of the northern side to complete the four-ivan plan (Fig.VII).

The mosque of the sarai is in the northeast quarter of the courtyard. It stands on an elevated platform (Fig. XV). The covered portion of the mosque measures 18.8 m. by 7.2 m. with some projections in the front and back walls. The mosque confirms to the usual plan of a nave and two aisles. The nave measures 4.9 m. by 4.6 m. and each aisle 4.3 m. square. The western wall has three mihrabs. One flight of steps on either side of the facade gives access to the roof of the mosque which is covered with a low single dome.

The nearby building was originally a hammam or bath suite. Now it has been appropriated for a rest house by the local Public

Works Department. Many an alteration has been made in it. At present, as many as seven new entrances pierce the enclosing walls of the building (Fig. XVI). Rooms F and G have been disconnected. Perhaps, there was either a small compartment or a deep recess to the left of the room F.

In its original condition, the hammam was entered through its only projected gateway A which opens into room B, measuring 3.7 m. by 3.2 m. and having recesses on three sides. The facing side of the room is attached to room C, measuring 5.0 m. by 3.4 m. Possibly, it was the reception room where a bather could wait for his turn. The small chamber D, measuring 2.9 m. by 2.6 m. might have served as lavatory.

Room B is connected to square room F, of 4.0 m. side, through a compartment E. Room F might have served as Apodyterium where the bather undressed himself before entering the room G, probably the Sudatorium or the steam room. It measures 3.8 m. by 3.2 m. To its left was the actual bathroom H, of the same dimensions as the previous one.

Long compartment I, measuring 7.0 m. by 1.5 m., is entered through an independent entrance J. This might have been the instrument room from where the whole mechanism of the hammam was operated. It might have been connected to other rooms through pipes built in walls as in other Mughal hammams. No furnace or tank exists now. The terracotta pipes, usually built in the walls of a hammam are not traceable due to the renovation of the building. The rooms B, F, G and H are covered with low domes of various sizes. Also the rooms B, D, E, F, G, H and I have one or more openings in their ceilings for light and ventilation. Perhaps,

originally these openings were covered with cowls to prevent the direct ingress of rain and much too harsh effect of uninterrupted light.

There are three wells in the courtyard.

Two of Jahangir's visits to this serai are on record, the first during his sixteenth regnal year[20] and the second one during the subsequent year.[21]

Serai at Shambhu (District Patiala)

The serai is in an excellent state of preservation.[22] Its enclosure measures 121 m. north-south and 101 m. east-west. Each corner of the enclosure is strengthened by an octagonal bastion of 2.6 m. side. A semi-circular bastion of 7.0 m. diameter marks the middle of the northern and the southern sides on the exterior.

As usual, the access to the serai enclosure is through two portals, one projected in the eastern and the other to the western side. Both the gateways are almost similar. Here follows description of the eastern one (Plate 13).

Its facade measures 23.2 m. across and rises to a height of 11.2 m. The sides of the gateway have been turned at an angle, each pierced by two storeys of semi-octagonal recesses.[23] Octagonal pilasters soften the angles of the gateway. The entrance is of the arch-within-arch type.

The passage, 4.2 m. broad and 12.8 m. long, is covered with a domical ceiling, raised on pendentives. It is flanked by a 2.7 m. deep verandah covered with a semi-dome. Each verandah opens into two rooms, measuring 2.8 m. by 2.5 m. and 4.5 m. by 1.8 m. On the inner side of the gateway, one flight of steps on either side communicates to its upper storey. This floor has two sets, each comprising three rooms, measuring 4.2 m. by 2.7 m., 5.2 m. by 3.7 m. and 3.7 m by 2.2 m. and two verandahs. The largest

rooms open towards the passage through three windows in each. From outside, two stairs approach the top terrace.

Shallow sunken panels relieve the plainness of the inner and outer facades of the gateway.

On either side of the gateways runs an arcade of 12 verandahs. Each verandah, 3.0 m. broad and 2.1 m. deep, opens into a 3.0 m. square room, covered with a domical ceiling. The northern and the southern sides have 20 similar rooms each, besides a larger and higher room in the middle. The size of the larger room is 4.8 m. by 4.6 m. with a 2.7 m. deep verandah in front. The room has a 1.5 m. deep recess in the back wall and a 0.5 m. deep recess in each side wall. One flight of steps on either side of the entrance of the larger room leads to an intermediate room, measuring 2.3 m. by 1.9 m. and thence to the terrace.

Each corner of the sarai accommodates a 3.6 m. square room having a 2.3 m. deep verandah. Each side of the room has a 2.1 m. deep, semi-octagonal recess and its back wall opens into a 3.2 m. square room forming the interior of the corner bastions of the sarai. One flight of steps in each of the two adjoining verandahs of this room leads to an intermediate barrel-vaulted chamber.

In each corner of the sarai, accommodated in the bastion, is a 3.2 m. square room on terrace. It is covered with a dome, surmounted by an inverted lotus moulding and a brick finial.

The mosque of the sarai rises on a platform, measuring 9.8 m. by 9.1 m. and 3.5 m. high. This platform accommodates two barrel-vaulted chambers each measuring 4.5 m. by 2.1 m. and having a 2.7 m. deep and 2.5 m. broad verandah in front. The mosque proper is approached from the southern side by a staircase built in the thickness of the platform.

The mosque proper extends across the breadth of the platform. Its facade is pierced by three small arched entrances. The interior of the mosque comprises a single compartment of 7.6 m. by 3.0 m. size. The sides of the interior are covered with semi-domes so as to leave a square space in between, above which rises a single dome. On the exterior, the mosque is covered with one dome rising on a circular drum.

The serai bears no inscription.

The gateways of the serai bear close resemblance to the gateways of Serai Nurmahal. These two serais also have the following features in common:

i) On the inner side, the rooms adjoining the gateways are double-storeyed.

ii) Each corner bastion of the serai enclosure also has a room, opening on the terrace of the arcade.

iii) Their mosques stand on raised platforms.

iv) Each angle of the gateways has an octagonal pilaster terminating above parapet into a pinnacle.

Hence on the basis of general analogy, the construction of the serai at Shambhu can also be ascribed to the period of Jahangir.

<u>Serai at Doraha (District Ludhiana)</u>

Another beautiful Mughal serai is situated to the south of the Ludhiana-Khanna road at Doraha.

The western half of the serai is in utter ruins. Only the corner bastions and the mosque of this portion are extant now. The eastern half of the serai is also in a precarious condition.[24]

The serai is a 168 m. square enclosure surrounded with

battlemented walls, having an octagonal bastion at each corner. In the middle of the eastern and the western sides, a semi-octagonal bastion provided additional strength to the walls. The western wall is further strengthened with two more bastions.

Each of the northern and the southern sides is pierced by an imposing gateway (Plate 14). Each gateway measures 31 m. from east to west and 14.2 m. from north to south. It rises in two storeys to a height of 11 m. The bastions at the corners of the facade and battlements rise even higher. On the facade, a big recessed arch contains the smaller opening arch which is 4.3 m. wide. On each side of the entrance are two arched recesses, one above the other. An elegant semi-hexagonal chhajja or over-hanging cornice is projected over each lower recess.

It appears that a similar chhajja was projected on either side of the entrance on the inner side also. One such chhajja can still be seen on the inner side of the southern gateway. The rest of the chhajjas might have crumbled and the walls might have been repaired later on.

The passage through each gateway is flanked by a 2.1 m. deep recess. The brickwork in the ceiling of the northern gateway, though not intended to be naked, is interesting. The manner of laying bricks transforms into a zigzag pattern the curved surface of the domical ceiling (Plate 15). On the ground floor, each of the gateways accommodates three rooms of different shapes, on either side. A staircase on either side of the entrance leads to the upper storey. On this floor also, there are three rooms on each side. The largest rooms on both sides are connected by a gallery.

Both the gateways are richly decorated with glazed tiles of light and deep blue, yellow, green and white colours (Plate 16). The designs are geometrical and the style peculiar to the first quarter of the seventeenth century in which thin terracotta ridges separate the tiles of different colours. The use of the swastika motif is particularly notable.[25]

The northern and the southern sides of the sarai had 26 rooms each, whereas the eastern and the western had 30 rooms each with a suite of three rooms in the middle. Each ordinary room measures 3.2 m. square with a 2.7 m. deep verandah in front. Each central set comprises a big room, 4.8 m. square, having a deep rectangular recess in each wall. Each recess in the side walls leads to a smaller room, measuring 3.8 m. by 2.1 m. The central room is provided with a ventilator in the back wall. Two staircases, one on either side of the entrance of the central room, approach the roof.

The northeast corner of the sarai has a complex arrangement of rooms. It was a hammam.

The access to the interior of the hammam is through a barrel-vaulted corridor A which leads to a rectangula compartment B, measuring 3.4 m by 3.0 m. (Fig. XVII). Through an arched opening in its facing wall we enter an octagonal room C of 2.0 m. side. It has an octagonal platform in the centre. This room might have served as a reception room where a bather could repose, awaiting his turn.

An opening in the northeast wall of the former room B leads to a spacious octagonal room D of 2.7 m. side. This room has a hexagonal room E , of 2.0 m. side to its left. Perhaps, it was

Apodyterium where the bather undressed himself and left his clothes.

An opening in the northern wall of room D leads to an octagonal chamber F, through a corridor M. Perhaps, this chamber served as a latrine. An outlet from this chamber opens to the north, outside the sarai.

Room D might have been the Sudatorium or the steam room. Two terracotta pipes, travelling through the thickness of the walls of the hammam, open into this room in recesses N and O. This room is also connected to rectangular room G, measuring 5.6 m. by 2.8 m. Room G has a side wing, measuring 2.6 m. by 1.7 m., having a tank L. The facing wall of the room G has two very dark chambers J and K and a raised section H. One drain from H opens into room G . One pipe from tank L, which could vacate it as and when required, opens into the courtyard of the sarai. Room G appears to have been the actual bathroom.

Portion H is also connected with pipes in the wall to room I which perhaps served as operating room from where the mechanism of the hammam was operated. Terracotta pipes which conducted water or steam from room to room have been systematically emdedded in masonry. All the rooms are covered with domical vaults.

Rooms B, C, D, E, G and H, each has an aperture in its ceiling for light and ventilation. These apertures were, perhaps, covered with cowls. Graceful painted designs adorned the ceilings of the rooms B, C, D and E. Traces of the painted decoration are [redacted] extent in a state of decay.

The working of such Mughal hammams has not hitherto been ascertained conclusively.

Every corner of the sarai , but for the one in the northeast

had a set of three rooms, one of which is [redacted] extant in the southeast corner. The central room is a 4.8 m. square having deep rectangular recesses in its side walls. One gallery in each side recess leads to a 3.1 m. square chamber. The semi-octagonal recess in the back wall opens into an octagonal chamber of 1.3 m. side, occupying the interior of the octagonal bastion of the serai enclosure. On the upper storey too, each bastion accommodates an octagonal room of 1.4 m. side. Each upper room is covered with a dome, surmounted with an inverted flower moulding which terminated in a sandstone finial, [redacted] extant in the northeast bastion. The dome is seperated from the bastion by a moulding and a band of red colour.

All the rooms as well as galleries are provided with slanting ventilators. No decoration is there in these rooms. On the exterior, the spandrels of each room have a simple design formed with slightly off-colour bricks. One course of such bricks marks the parapet line of the rooms as well as that of the enclosing wall.

In the western half of the serai stands a mosque. But for its surrounding wall, the mosque is in a good condition. A small gateway leads to the mosque enclosure which measures 22.4 m. by 15.6 m. The sanctuary which is 5.4 m. deep is covered with three domes, marking the inner divisions of the sanctuary. Adjoining the northern wall of the mosque, there is a single-storeyed structure, now in ruins. It is a 6.4 m. square and comprises three rooms, perhaps intended to be the residence of the mullah 'the priest'.

The three wells in the courtyard supplied the much-needed

water to the lodgers for various purposes.

It appears that a part of the sarai had fallen and was repaired at some later date with mud instead of chunam (lime). This assumption is affirmed by the absence of off-colour brick parapet line on some parts of the left half of the northern facade and its being out of line with the rest. The plain walls of the three non-existent projected chhajjas on the inner side of the gateways further strengthen this point.

There is no inscription on the sarai. But the style of its glazed tile decoration provides a clue to its date. This type of work was prevalent upto Jahangir's reign. In the glazed tile work of the later period the intervening ridges disappear. Moreover, the work displays a richer palette and foliated and floral patterns.

The lower date limit of the construction of the sarai can be fixed as per the fact that William Finch, who passed through Doraha in 1611 A.D., while travelling from Agra to Lahore, does not mention the existence of this sarai at Doraha whereas he distinctly mentions other sarais en route.[26] So, the date of erection of the sarai at Doraha, most probably, lies somewhere in the second or third decade of the seventeenth century.

Sarai at Shahabad (District Ambala)

Situated in the heart of the town, this sarai is thickly populated. Both of its gateways and parts of the enclosing wall are [illegible] extent. Although the exact shape of the sarai can not be ascertained due to later alterations and accretions but certainly it was not a rectangular structure like other Mughal sarais of the region. The corner bastions of the enclosure are

circular whereas those in the middle of the eastern and the western walls are semi-octagonal. One austere-looking gateway sits in the middle of the northern and the southern walls each.

The southern gateway is 12.4 m. broad and projected 5.2 m. beyond the wall (Plate 17). It soars to a height of 10.0 m. on outside and 8.0 m. on the inner side. The passage, 4.2 m. broad, has a 2.7 m. deep verandah on its either side. One flight of steps in the western wall of the passage and the other on the inner side of the gateway give access to the second storey which comprises a verandah of the same size as that on the ground floor and a small room measuring 2.0 m. by 1.8 m. One flight of stairs from outside this storey leads to the top terrace. The other gateway is also similar in design.

Each room for common travellers measures 3.4 m. by 3.2 m. having a half-domed, 2.3 m. deep porch in front.

Two of the corner rooms of the sarai are also extant. Each measures 3.2 m. square and has a deep recess in front and back walls. An opening in the back recess leads to an octagonal chamber of 1.2 m. side.

Some crude designs on the facade of the gateways and a swastika motif on a semi-octagonal bastion, all executed in off-colour bricks, are the only decoration on the sarai.

We come across a reference to the sarai in a Dutch chronicle.[27] It records that, in 1626 A.D., Khanzad Khan sent Rs 22 lacs to his father Mahabat Khan from Bengal. At that time, Nur Jahan was staying at Lahore. When she came to know that the convoy had reached near Delhi, she sent a party to seize the treasure and they fell in with it at Shahabad. The 500 Rajput bowmen and

musketeers who were carrying the treasure, took refuge in the serai and fortified it. After a good deal of fighting, the royal troops set fire to the serai. The defenders fled and the troops got possession of the treasure. This battle must have done great harm to the serai.

The serai must also have born the brunts of the attack of Banda Bahadur who fell upon Shahabad about the end of the year 1709 A.D. or the beginning of the next one.[28]

Later, Caum Singh Namella turned the serai into a fort for his own residence.[29]

Due to the above events, the serai as it exists today, is in a greatly altered condition. It does not bear any inscription. Neither has it any peculiar stylistic feature to help fix its chronology. All that can be said about the date of its construction is that it had been erected before 1626 A.D., the date when it was occupied by the treasure-carriers of Mahabat Khan.

Sarai at Gharonda (District Karnal)

Lying between Panipat and Karnal, on the G.T. Road, is the small town of Gharonda. To the east of the town, there was a Mughal serai.[30] It was demolished by the Britishers during the Mutiny with a view to dislodging some of the mutineers.[31] The bricks were sold for ballast for the railway track.[32] Somehow, its gateways, now representing the serai, survived the British wrath. Some portions of these gateways have also crumbled.[33]

That the serai was one of the most beautiful of its kind throughout the northern India, is amply testified by the gateways which were in the middle of the southern and the northern sides.

Beginning with the southern gateway, one finds the cusped

arch opening of the gateway contained in a larger recess covered with an arch of similar shape (Plate 18). One balcony, supported on corbelled brackets, is projected on either of its sides. But for some sunken panels, the rest of its surface is plain. The major element that lends majesty to the structure is a double-storeyed tapering bastion at each of its corners, having alternately rounded and angular flutes, very much like those of the Qutb Minar. Presumably, it is from the Qutb Minar that its architects got the inspiration. The rounded flutes of the upper storey have small balconied alcoves. Two bands of white cross-signs mark the junction of two storeys. Originally, each bastion was crowned with a dome.[34] At either far end of the facade there was a slender pillar of the same shape as that of the bastion, extant in the northern gateway.

Equally simple and impressive is the treatment of the inner facade of the gateway. The central big arch has three window-openings above it. There is one recess on its either side on the ground level and an elegant balcony above it.

On the ground floor, the passage is flanked with a 3.7 m. deep verandah, each of the three walls of which open into a room. These rooms are of different sizes and shapes. One flight of steps on either side communicates with the upper storey. It comprises two sets each consisting of two rooms and one long gallery. The third storey, again approached by two flights of steps, is more spacious and complex. It consists of as many as eight rooms of various sizes and shapes, connected with each other. The balconies visible on the outer and the inner facades are projected from this storey. The upper storeys are better

preserved in the northern gateway.

There are minor decorations on the gateway. At the soffit of the arch, there is an umbrella-like formation of stalactites. Some stalactites painted in white on a red background are also there. Below this decoration, there were some painted panels, only traces of which are extant. The half-domed ceilings of the side recesses on the inner side also bear stalactites moulded in stucco(Plate 19).

The bastions of the northern gateway have only rounded flutes and the small projected alcoves are distributed in a more rhythmic manner. Though differing in such minor details, the northern gateway is very much similar to the one just described.

The distance between the two gateways is 144.5 m.

As usual, the courtyard of the sarai was enclosed by a high battlemented wall with bastions at its angles.[35] The corner bastions were " adorned with open circular galleries covered by domes."[36]

The sarai is devoid of any inscription now. But a traveller named Captain Mundy saw an inscription on one of its gateways according to which this sarai was built during the reign of Shah Jahan by one Firoz Khan.[37]

A eunuch of this name had the charge of the palace during the reign of Shah Jahan.[38] He was one of the trusted servants of Jahangir and during Shah Jahan's reign he gradually rose to the rank of 3000 with 1500 horse.[39] He also laid out a garden on the bank of Jhelum which was famous for beauty.[40] He died on October 7, 1647.[41] His tomb still stands near Agra.[42] But we do not know whether or not the two Firoz Khans are one and the same person.

Sarai Rai Mukand Das at Narnaul (District Mahendragarh)

This is the only extant sarai in the region under study which is situated off the Mughal route from Agra to Lahore. At present, it accommodates the Deputy Commissioner's office and is in a greatly altered condition. One of its gateways is being used as a Gurudwara and the other has been bricked up.

The sarai covers a rectangle measuring 127 m. by 89 m., engaged to an octagonal bastion of 1.5 m. side at each angle. Two of its sides are pierced with one 12 m. high portal each. The gateways are double-storeyed structures (Plate 20). The sides of their facades are turned at an angle like the gateways of the sarai at Nurmahal and the sarai at Shambhu.

Each ordianry room, encircling the courtyard of the sarai, measures 3.2 m. square and is fronted with a 2.0 m. deep verandah. Entered through a 1.1 m. broad arch, each room is covered with a domical ceiling.

Each corner room of the sarai measures 3.6 m. square. It has a 3.0 m. deep semi-octagonal recess in each of its walls and a 2.6 m. deep verandah in front.

Cusped arches have been used for all openings.

An inscription stone is fixed in the right wall of the archway of the western gate. G.Yazdani translates its text as follows:[43]

" During the reign of the victorious father Shahabu-d-din Muhammad, the second lord of the happy conjunction, Shah Jahan the victorious king, the Rae of Raes, Rae Mukand Das gave orders to build this magnificent caravansarai. It was completed under the superintendence of Mehtapur Mal (?) and Har Das in A.H. 11...."

Yazdani's reading of the date can not be correct. Because if the first two numerals of the date are 11, the date can range between 1100 and 1199 (16th October, 1688 and 3rd November, 1785). But the reign of Shah Jahan had already ended in 1658 A.D. Unfortunately, the date is also not legible in the photograph of the inscription which the present scholar exposed (Plate 21).

According to Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, the names of the superintendents are Mehta Puran Mal and Hari Das.[44] It appears to be correct.

Rai Mukand Das, the builder of the sarai was a Mathur Kayasth and a native of Narnaul.[45] He started his career as a servant of Asaf Khan but gradually he rose to the high rank of Diwan-i-Tan (Superintendent of grants etc.) under Shah Jahan.[46] He erected lofty buildings in the town.[47] His mansion in the town, locally known as Birbal ka Chhatta is still extant.

Sarai Amanat Khan (District Amritsar)

This exquisite but little-known sarai is situated in the village of the same name, to the southwest of Amritsar, on the Tarn Taran - Attari road. Though dilapidated, this sarai is one of the representative specimens bearing glazed tile decoration.

The enclosure of the sarai measures 168 m. by 165 m. with an octagonal bastion of 1.6 m. side at each corner. There are also semi-circular bastions in the middle of the northern and the southern sides.

Its eastern and western sides have an elegant gateway each. The eastern gateway is better preserved (Plate 22). The facade of the gateway, 19.8 m. broad, is bound with an octagonal bastion of 1.8 m. side on either side. Each bastion is surmounted with

a graceful kiosk. The entrance arch, 6.6 m. broad, is flanked by a 1.2 m. deep recess at ground level and triple openings on the second storey. These triple openings were originally filled with trellis-work, some of which was extant on the left side of the western gateway when the scholar visited the sarai in 1979 A.D. The passage, 6.0 m. broad, has a 5.3 m. deep verandah on either side. Each verandah is further connected to a room, measuring 5.0 m. by 3.5 m.

One stairway in either side of the gateway approaches the upper storey which repeats the plan of the ground floor with an additional room, measuring 3.5 m. by 2.2 m. on either side. Again, two flights of steps lead up to the top. All the rooms of the gateway are covered with domical ceilings.

The facade of the gateway was encrusted with glazed tiles. Inscriptions contained in cartouches framed the entrance arch. Spandrels were filled with arabesque designs. Square and oblong panels depict vase and flowers motif. Blue tiles were used for the background of all other designs but for the inscriptions where mustard yellow tiles form the ground. But for one panel on the left hand side, in all other decoration the tiles of only blue colour are extant.

The glazed tile work is better preserved on the western gateway. A large part of the inscription framing the central arch still survives. Besides, above the triple openings are oblong panels exhibiting vase and flowers designs (Plate 23). Whereas the flowers are in orange and two shades of blue, the leaves are in green, all set against a white background. In the corners and on other parts are square and oblong panels depicting the

same motif.

Both the gateways have traces of painted decorations also. But they are better preserved on the eastern gateway. The main motifs are flower plants, vase and flowers , flower pot etc. The colour palette includes red, blue, green and pink. Background colour is invariably white. Some incised designs are also there.

The remaining surface on the facades of both the gateways was covered with red plaster painted with imitation bricks so that the structural core seems to show through. This type of decoration was known as Tazakari.[48] Traces of this work are still visible.

At present, the sarai is packed to capacity with rural occupants and only a few of the original rooms are extant. It is not known for certain how many rooms were there on each side, but each room was a 3.5 m. square and was covered with a domical vault. The adjoining rooms on the either side of the gateways were further connected to one room each, measuring 3.4 m. by 2.4 m. The corner room, still extant in the northwest corner, measures 4.5 m. square and has a 2.3 m. deep semi-octagonal recess on all the three sides.

The mosque is in the southern half of the sarai. It measures 16.2 m. by 7.9 m. Its facade is pierced by three low arched openings contained in their respective recesses. The western wall of the mosque has three mihrabs, each having an inscription, carved in stucco, above it. Three low domes roof the building. The facade of the mosque was also richly embellished with glazed tiles of blue, yellow, green, orange and purple colours, the

traces of which can still be seen. Some traces of painted decoration are also visible.

There is one well of 2.0 m. diameter inside the sarai and one outside, near the western gateway. Local inhabitants testify the former existence of one more well inside the sarai.

The earliest reference to the sarai that we come across is by Tavernier, a French jeweller, when he came to India in 1665 A.D.[49] But the style of the glazed tile decoration as seen on the gateways of the sarai became prevalent only after the accession of Shah Jahan, i.e. 1627 A.D. So the erection of the sarai can be placed in between this period, i.e., 1627-1665 A.D.

Most probably, Amanat Khan, the builder of the sarai was the person whose real name was Mirak Muinuddin Ahmad. He was an officer of standing under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.[50] His father Mirak Hussain Khwafi served under Jahangir and Shah Jahan.[51] Amanat Khan was a man of excellent character and a master calligrapher.[52] He entered the royal service in 1640 A.D. as <u>bakshi</u> and historiographer of the province of Ajmer.[53] In 1654 A.D. he was made <u>diwan</u>, <u>bakshi</u> and historiographer of the province of Multan.[54] In the time of Alamgir, he was made the <u>subedar</u> of Kabul and was honoured with the title of Amanat Khan (the trust-worthy Khan).[55] In 1676 A.D., he was made the fort-keeper of Lahore.[56] He died in 1684 A.D.[57]

<u>Sarai at Rajpura (District Patiala)</u>

The sarai sits in the midst of the town, close to the Bus Stand. Now it is being used for holding Tehsil court, hence local populace know the building by the name of <u>kachehri</u>, i.e., court.

It is a fortified enclosure measuring 142 m. by 132 m. Each

corner of the rectangle is replaced by a domed octagonal bastion of 2.6 m. side. Two gateways are set in the larger sides of the enclosure. Both of these are similar in design. The entrance arch of the eastern gateway has been bricked up, so Now only the western gateway opens in the courtyard of the sarai (Plate 24).

Each corner of the gateway is marked by an octagonal bastion, covered with a fluted dome, surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding. A large cusped arch, having its soffit adorned with stalactites, forms the opening. The facade of the gateway is panelled. As usual, each gateway has rooms arranged in two storeys. The western gateway is provided with huge wooden doors. Similar doors can also be seen in the outer gateway of the Bahadurgarh fort. The author has also witnessed similar doors in the (now fallen) Sheranwala Gate at Patiala. Both the later examples were the work of Patiala rulers. Hence, most probably, the doors of the sarai under study were also provided by the same rulers when they put the sarai to use as will be described later.

A row of 26 rooms on each side, against the retaining wall sorrounds the courtyard. Each room is a three metre square and has a 2.4 m. deep verandah in front. Besides these rooms, in the middle of the northern and the southern walls each, is a room of larger dimensions. It measures four metres square and has 1.5 m. deep recesses, covered by cusped arches, on all sides. This room is covered with a domical vault whereas the smaller rooms have flat ceilings. Each corner of the courtyard also accommodates a room of 4.4 m. side. It has a 2.1 m. deep

semi-octagonal recess on each side and a 1.2 m. broad opening in the back wall, leading to a square room of 3.3 m. side It also has 0.5 m. deep recesses on all sides. From the verandahs of the adjoining rooms, one flight of steps on each side leads to the terrace.

All the rooms of the sarai have alcoves in their walls.

A well has been sunk in the courtyard near the eastern gateway.

The sarai bears no inscription. But the use of cusped arches for openings (i) of the gateways (ii) in the domed pavilions of the corner bastions and (iii) for covering the arched recesses of the larger rooms in the middle of the northern and the southern sides, indicates that the sarai came into existence during the reign of Shah Jahan or later.

The sarai has been mentioned by a number of travellers who traversed the route from Agra to Lahore. Maulavi Abdul Kadir Khan (1797 A.D.) refers to it by the name of Raja Sarai.[58] According to Captain Mundy (early 19th century), it was employed by the government (Patiala rulers) as a prison at that time.[59] It is corroborated by David Ross (1881-82 A.D.) when he says that the sarai is being "used by the Patiala State as a district court and jail."[60] William Barr (February, 1840) mentions a circular brick tower in front of its gateway.[61] Most probably, it was a kos-minar, not extant now.

<u>Sarai at Thanesar (District Kurukshetra)</u>

The remains of a sarai at Thanesar are situated to the north of the town, adjoining the tomb of Shaikh Chilli. Unlike other Mughal sarais of the region, it is an unsymmetrical composition.

It has no room on southern side. The rooms on other sides are not of a uniform size. Each room on the western side measures 3.7 m. by 3.3 m., fronted with a 1.8 m. deep verandah, but those on the northern side measure 3.3 m. square. The former rooms are covered with pointed barrel-vaults whereas the later with domical ceilings. The larger corner room, extant in the northwest corner, measures 4.3 m. by 4.1 m. having 1.1 m. deep recesses in side walls and a 0.8 m. deep recess in the back wall.

Adjoining the western wall of the sarai is an ancient mound having some brick structures buried under it. (Now the mound is being excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India.)

The enclosure has only one gateway, extending over a length of 18.0 m. (Plate 25). But the entrance arch is only 3.6 m. broad. The structure has no architectural pretentions.

There is no inscription to tell the date of its erection. But, most probably, it was built as part of the tomb madrassa complex, about the middle of the seventeenth century, as will be seen later.

Sarai at Taraori (District Karnal)

Taraori is also known as Azimabad. It is believed that Azam Shah, the third son of Aurangzeb, was born in this town while his mother was on her way to Lahore.[62] Hence the town was named after the prince. The event was commemorated by erecting there some royal buildings, a sarai, a high-walled garden, a masonry tank and a town hall.[63] All of these monuments existed, though in a ruinous condition, upto the last century. But only the sarai and the tank are extant now. The sarai is densely inhabited by the refugee families who migrated to these parts during the 1947

partition.[64] According to William Barr, who visited the sarai on the 28th January, 1840, it was encircled with a deep ditch, then only partially filled with water.[65]

The battlemented enclosure of the sarai measures 160 m. square. Each corner of the enclosure is strengthened by an octagonal bastion of 2.4 m. side. The gateways of the sarai pierce its northern and southern walls.

Each gateway is a three-storeyed structure, rising to a height of 13.0 m. on the outer side and 11.4 m. on the inner side and covers a plinth area of 19.8 m. by 11.4 m. (Plate 26). The entrance is an arch within arch type. The passage is flanked with a 2.0 m. deep verandah. The triple openings of each verandah are formed by red sandstone double pillars. Each cusped opening is made of only two pieces of carved stone. Each verandah opens into a room measuring 4.1 m. by 2.8 m. which is further connected to a 3.0 m. square room. On the inner side, one flight of steps on either side approaches the middle storey which almost repeats the plan of the ground floor. Two flights of steps from here reach the third storey. It comprises two sets of two rooms each, measuring 4.3 m. by 2.9 m. and 4.2 m. by 3.0 m., joined by a gallery. Again, two sets of stairs give access to the top of the gateway.

On facade, one balcony is projected from the third storey on either side of the entrance. The balconies are supported on red stone brackets and pillars. The rest of the facade is textured with sunken panels. There is no bastion on the corners of the gateways, but only an octagonal pilaster which perhaps terminated into a minaret above parapet.

Painted decoration can still be seen on the soffit of the larger entrance arch of the southern gateway. A flower plant in a pot is the main motif. The design is executed in white against an Indian red background. The traces of the painted simulated brick pattern in white and red, as seen on the gateways of Sarai Amanat Khan, can also be seen here.

The inner facade of each gateway is relieved with three storeys of recesses and five storeys of sunken panels. On the soffits of the middle storey recesses, there is stalactite like decoration.

The courtyard of the sarai is encircled with 32 rooms on each side. Each room measures 3.2 m. square and is fronted with a verandah, 2.4 m. deep. In the middle of the eastern and the western sides, there is a larger room, 4.8 m. square having 2.4 m. deep, semi-octagonal recesses in side walls and 0.9 m. deep rectangular recess in the back wall. One flight of steps on either side of the facade of the larger rooms leads to the terrace.

The larger room in the corner of the sarai measures 4.1 m. square having 1.2 m. deep, semi-octagonal recesses in side walls and a 1.8 m. deep rectangular recess in the back wall which further opens into an octagonal room of 1.8 m. side. The octagonal room has a similar room on the upper storey also which is surmounted by an octagonal kiosk of 2.1 m. side. The kiosk has cusped openings and stone brackets and eaves.

The mosque of the sarai is in the southwest quarter and now accommodates a Gurudwara as well as a temple. The covered portion of the mosque measures 11.4 m. by 9.1 m. The nave measures 4.1 m. by 3.4 m. and is covered with a domical ceiling

supported on pendentives. Each aisle, mesuring 4.1 m. by 2.0 m., has a semi-domical ceiling. The nave and aisles are fronted with a 2.4 m. deep verandah, entered through three arches piercing the facade of the mosque. The facade is shaded with a corbelled chhajja. On the exterior, one hemi-spherical dome surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding sits over the nave. The rear corners of the mosque are marked with octagonal pilasters.

All the rooms of the gateway, those around the courtyard of the sarai and the verandah of the mosque have almost flat ceilings and arches used for their entrances are also almost flat. This tendency is notable only after the first half of the seventeenth century. Thus the architectural evidence as well as the local tradition place the construction of the sarai in the reign of Aurangzeb.

Sarai Lashkar Khan (District Ludhiana)

The sarai stands in the fields, 12 km. to the west of Khanna, on the G.T. Road. It is one of those few sarais which have survived in their entirety. At present, a family from a nearby village farms the land inside the sarai and stores their grain in its rooms.

The sarai is a 165 m. square enclosure having an octagonal bastion of 1.8 m. side at each corner. The entrance to the enclosure is provided through one 8.0 m. high gateway in the eastern and the western side each. Both the gateways are almost similar in design but for a few minor differences. In both of them, the central arched opening which is of stone, is flanked by two storeys of triple openings (Plate 27). Each corner of the outer facades is strengthened by an octagonal bastion, crowned with a

kiosk. The passage, 5.2 m. broad, has a 2.2 m. deep verandah on either side which further opens into a room measuring 4.8 m. by 3.2 m. These rooms are also entered from the inner sides of the gateways and each opens into another room measuring 5.6 m by 2.4 m. Two flights of steps in each gateway lead to the upper storey which almost repeats the plan of the ground floor with an additional octagonal room accommodated in the bastions. Again two flights of steps in each gate reach the top. The corners of the inner facades of the gateways have octagonal pilasters which perhaps terminated into minarets above parapet.

The corners of the plinths of the gateways are protected by stone carved in the form of quarter pillars. Some of the lower parts, too, are lined with roughly carved stone.

The courtyard of the sarai, measuring 148 m. square, has 30 rooms on each side, i.e., 15 on either side of the gateways and an equal number on each side of the central higher compartments in the northern and the southern walls. Each room measures 3.3 m. square and is entered through a flat arched opening having a 2.5 m. deep verandah in front.

One particular feature in which it deviates from the other sarais, is the absence of bastions in the middle of the northern and the southern walls and the arrangement of the rooms on the interior, corresponding to this portion. In this case, in the middle is a verandah, 7.8 m. broad and 3.7 m. deep, on each side of which is a room measuring 4.0 m by 7.5 m. and opening once into the verandah and twice into the courtyard of the sarai, i.e., each room has three doorways. The facade of the verandah, pierced by three arched openings, rests on three piers. It appears that

the front portion of the vernadahs also had roofs which have crumbled.

In each corner of the courtyard is a 5.0 m. square room having a semi-octagonal recess in each wall. From the verandah of the room, two flights of steps, one on either side, lead to the roof.

In the southern half of the courtyard is an unpretentious mosque measuirng 12.5 m. by 7.0 m. Its domes have crumbled.

There are two wells in the sarai being used for irrigation at present.

The sarai is altogether devoid of any decoration of the name. There are two inscribed marble slabs on the western gateway and three on the eastern gate.[66] According to these inscriptions this sarai was erected by Lashkar Khan, during the reign of emperor Aurangzeb, in 1080 A.H. (the year began the 22nd May, 1669).

Lashkar Khan was not a name but a title. Five persons honoured with this title appear in the *Maathir-ul-umara*.[67] But most probably, the Lashkar Khan of our inscription is the one whose real name was Yadgar Beg.[68] He joined imperial service during the reign of Shah Jahan and was honoured with the title of Jan Nisar Khan in the emperor's 19th regnal year.[69] The title of Lashkar Khan was conferred upon him six years later.[70] He continued serving the empire during the reign of Aurangzeb who in his 13th regnal year (August, 1670) appointed him the *Mir Bakshi*.[71] In between these two appointments, he held the post of the governor of Multan twice, first in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign and then, during his 11th regnal year.[72] He died in 1671 A.D.[73]

Dakhini Sarai (District Jalandhar)

It is situated to the south of the village Mahlian Kalan on Nakodar-Kapurthala Road. The building is in a good state of preservation.[74] About the beginning of our century, it was being used as a leper asylum.[75]

The sarai covers an area of 180 m. by 172 m. enclosed by a 6.5 m. high battlemented wall. Each corner of the enclosure is marked with an octagonal bastion. One magnificent gateway is projected in the middle of its eastern and western sides each. The western gateway was bricked up at some later date. So, now the entrance is through the eastern gateway only (Plate 28). The facade of the gateway, 19.8 m. long, is bound on either side with an octagonal bastion of 1.7 m. side. The parapet of the gateway is 12.7 m. high. Each bastion was topped with a kiosk, which rose still higher. One such kiosk existed until the last decade.[76] These kiosks are extant on the western gateway.

The large entrance arch, 5.8 m. broad, has a 1.6 m. deep recess on either of its sides at ground level above which are two storeys of triple openings. The middle storey openings were filled up with trellis-screens , a small portion of which is extant. The upper openings take the shape of projected balconies.

The ground floor consists of two sets, each comprising three rooms measuring 4.6 m. by 2.6 m., 2.6 m. by 2.6 m. and 2.6 m. by 2.1 m. and a 1.9 m. deep verandah. The middle storey also has the same number of rooms, but these are of different sizes. On the top storey only less than half of the area is built and the

rest is open. So the gateway appears two-storeyed from the inner side. This storey comprises three rooms and some galleries. The inner facade of this storey is shaded with wide eaves, supported on brackets. The parapet on this side is only 8.0 m. high. One square pavilion having an angular dome is installed at each corner.

The western gateway is also similar in design. The facades of both the gateways were all adorned with glittering mosaics exhibiting arabesque designs executed in mustard yellow, orange green, turquoise, indigo, purple and white tiles. Much of the tilework has come off now and the brick skeleton has been exposed to view. But the decoration was in a better condition when Sir John Marshall visited the sarai in 1926-27 A.D. and remarked that the mosaic work here " is in no way inferior to the similar work in the Lahore Fort."[77] The pear-shaped domes of the bastions and the square pavilions on the inner side also had tiled decoration, the traces of which still remain. The rest of the surface on the facades was covered with red painted plaster with brick pattern incised in it, similar to that on the gateways of Sarai Amanat Khan and the sarai at Taraori.

Around the sides of the court are the usual compartments, 30 on each side. Each compartment measures 3.8 m. by 3.3 m. having a 2.4 m. deep verandah in front. The arches used for entrances are almost flat. Each opening has a ventilator above it. The northern and the southern sides have one additional larger room in the middle. This additional room measures 5.8 m. by 4.0 m. and has a semi-circular recess in the back wall and is connected with one small room measuring 5.2 m. by 3.6 m., on its either side.

Each corner of the enclosure has a 4.9 m. square room having octagonal recesses in side walls and a semi-octagonal one in the back wall. An opening in this last one leads to a small chamber corresponding to the octagonal bastions at each corner of the enclosure. In either side of the verandah of this room, a flight of stairs communicates with the terrace.

In the southwest quarter of this quadrangle is a mosque with courtyard and entrance gateway. Its over-all measurements are 21.5 m. by 16.0 m. but the covered area of the sanctuary proper measures only 14.0 m. by 4.1 m. It is divided into a nave and two aisles. The mosque is roofed with three low domes, raised on octagonal bases. One minaret marks each corner of the facade of the sanctuary. The facade of the mosque was also faced with faience tiles in a way similar to that of the gateways. Some stalactite designs also appear in the mosque.

To the east of the mosque are vestiges of foundations of a building, covering an area of 14.0 m. by 11.0 m. Probably, it was a hammam. There is a well nearby.

The date of the building of the sarai is not known. J. Ph. Vogel attributes its erection to Ali Mardan Khan, to the years about 1640 A.D.[78], we do not know on what basis. But the name of the sarai tells that it was erected by a Dakhini noble, of whom Ali Mardan Khan was not one.

Sarai at Sultanpur Lodi (District Kapurthala)

The town of Sultanpur Lodi is said to have been founded by Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of Lahore, during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi.[79]

The situation of the sarai, according to Cunningham, corresponds with that of the great Buddhist monastery of Ta-mo-su-fa-na or Tamasa-vana, the black forest mentioned by Hwen Tsang.[80]

Cunningham suspects that this sarai was built on the foundations of the old Buddhist monastery as its "walls are 15½° out of the meridian, which is a very unusual arrangement in a Muhammedan building.... [and] it was a common practice with both Buddhists and Brahmanists in ancient times to place the buildings about one nakshatra or 13⅓° out of meridian."[81]

The sarai stands on a high mound. Very little of its original structure is extant. The enclosure measures 147 m. 149 m. from outside (Fig. XVIII). Each corner of the enclosing wall is reinforced with an octagonal bastion. The only gateway to the sarai opens through its northern wall (Plate 29). It measures 19.6 m. across, 12.6 m. deep and 11.6 m. high upto parapet. A pointed arch forms the central opening. It has a recess on its either side. Each corner of the gateway is marked by an octagonal bastion. It expands in its upper part forming a platform for the octagonal cupola above. The facade of the gateway is panelled into niches of various shapes and sizes. The soffit of the central arch is adorned with moulded stalactites. Originally, the facade was painted with a design of bricks outlined with imitation mortar joints.

The gateway accommodates rooms of various sizes and shapes, arranged in three storeys.

The middle of the southern side is occupied by a set of three rooms, the side rooms measuring 7.0 m. by 3.2 m and the central one measuring 3.7 m. square (Fig. XIX).

Of the rooms encircling the courtyard, only three are extant. Each measures 3.2 m. square and is covered with a domical vault raised on pendentives.

The only other surviving portion of the سرای is the mosque.

It is of the usual nave and aisles type. The nave measures 3.6 m. by 3.4 m. and each aisle measures 3.4 m. square. It is covered with three domes. Each corner of the facade is marked by an octagonal pilaster terminating into a kiosk above parapet. The shape of the kiosks and the decorative plaster work indicate the renovation of the mosque at some later date.
There are two wells within the enclosure.

The sarai bears no inscription to tell the date of its erection. Cunningham arbitrarily attributes its construction to Jahangir.[82] But stylistically, the main gate of the sarai is more close to the gateways of the Dekhini Sarai and Sarai Amanat Khan than to those of the sarais built during the reign of Jahangir. Therefore, the sarai at Sultanpur Lodhi must be almost contemporaneous with them.

At present, the building accommodates the local police station. A large number of modern buildings occupy the courtyard. At the beginning of the present century, it was being used as a <u>tehsil</u> office.[83]

FOOTNOTES

1. Francois Bernier, Travels in the Mogul Empire, Delhi, Rep. 1968, p. 281.

2. Eleanor Sims, "Trade & Travel: Markets and Caravanserais", in Architecture of the Islamic World, ed. George Michell, New York, 1978, p. 99.

3. Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. IV, Allahabad, n.d., pp. 417-18.

4. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, tr. H. Blochmann, New Delhi, Rep. 1977, p. 232.

5. Memoirs of Emperor Jahanguir, tr. Major David Price, Delhi, n.d., p. 157.

6. Niccolao Manucci, Storia do Mogor, Vol. I, tr. William Irvine, Calcutta, Rep. 1965, p. 115.

7. The following was the route from Agra to Lahore:
Agra- Rankata - Bad-ki-Sarai - Akbarpur - Hodal - Palwal - Narela - Sonepat - Ganaur - Samalkha - Panipat - Gharonda - Karnal - Taraori - Thanesar - Sarai Hajjam - Shahabad - Kot Kachhwaha-Shambhu - Rajpura - Khanna - Sarai Lashkar Khan - Doraha - Phillaur - Nurmahal - Dakhini Sarai - Sultanpur Lodi - Fatehabad - Naurangabad - Sarai Nurdin - Sarai Amanat Khan - Sarai Khan-i-Khanan - Lahore.

The route has been traced on the basis of the following six travel accounts:
William Foster (ed.), Early Travels in India, Delhi, Rep. 1968, pp. 155-60.
De laet, Empire of the Great Mogol, tr. J.S. Hoyland, Delhi, Rep. 1975, p. 54.
J.B. Tavernier, Travels in India, Vol. I, London, 1889, pp. 95-96.
K.L. Sachdeva, "Dutch Ambassador Johan Josua Ketelar in Punjab", Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference, 17th Session, Patiala, 1983, pp. 91-96.
Dr. Bhagat Singh, " Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla", The Panjab Past & Present, Vol. XVIII-II, Patiala, October, 1984, pp. 111-15.
Maulvi Abdul Kadir Khan, "Memorandum of the Route between Delhi and Cabul (1797)", The Panjab Past & Present, Vol. XII-I, Patiala, April, 1978, pp. 15-21.

8. J.Ph. Vogel, Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort, Calcutta, 1920, p. 54.

9. Foster, op. cit., pp. 158-59.

& Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulastut-Tawarikh, tr. Ranjit Singh Gill, Patiala, 1972, pp. 456-57.

10. Ibid., p. 459 & Foster, loc. cit.

11. In official records, the gateways of the sarai have been declared 'Protected' by the Department of Archaeology, Punjab. But the declaration is limited to papers only.

12. A school, police station, Muncipal Committee office, Public Works Department store and rest house occupy the extant portions of the sarai. Some new buildings have also been erected in the courtyard. Both the gateways of the sarai and some adjoining rooms have been declared 'Protected Monument' by the Archaeological Survey of India vide notification no. 4687 dated 19th February, 1919. [List of Protected Monuments accepted by the Govt. of India (corrected upto September, 1920), Simla, 1920, pp. 4-5.]

13. Pt. Sheo Narain, "Serai Nur Mahal", The Panjab Past & Present, Vol. IV, Part II, Patiala, 1970, p. 221.

14. Alexander Cunningham, Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, Rep. 1970, pp. 64-65.

15. Ibid., p. 63.

16. No one of the name of Zakariya Khan has been historically prominent during the reign of Jahangir. But one Nawab Zakariya Khan son of Samad Khan is known to have received the title of Khan Bahadur in 1737 A.D. and he was appointed the governor of Lahore and Multan (S.M. Latif, History of the Panjab, Calcutta, 1891, p. 193.). He exercised an absolute authority in the whole of the province until he was defeated by Nadir Shah (p. 201).

Pt. Sheo Narain is of the view that the letters of the inscription were not incised before the panel bearing them was fitted up in the building. The crude shape of the letters also indicate their later incision. There being no date or year given there in, it is not to be assumed that the inscription was synchronous with the building. (Op. cit., p. 222.)

17. The last line of the inscription is a form of curse among Muhammadans.

18. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 64.

19. Cunningham wrongly describes it as "three storeys in height". (Ibid., p. 63.)

20. Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, tr. A. Rodgers & H. Beveridge, Book II, Delhi, 1968, p. 220.

21. Ibid., p. 249.

22. The monument is under the protection of the Department of Archaeology, Punjab. Now it has been developed as a tourist spot.

23. In the western gateway, the upper storey recesses have

been bricked up to provide accommodation for the monument attendants.

24. After the partition (1947 A.D.), some refugee families had appropriated the sarai for their permanent residence. However, these families were externed by the Punjab Government in early 1970s and the sarai was declared a 'Protected Monument'.

25. Some writers over-emphasize the Hindu character of the swastika motif. (e.g. see Brij Kishore, "An Un-noticed Hindu Symbol in Akbar's Monuments in Agra and Fatehpur Sikri", Proceedings of Indian History Congress, XXVII Session, pp. 273-75.) But it "is one of the oldest and most widely disseminated of all decorative symbols. It was used in the Mediterranean countries and the Near East from c. the 3rd mellenium B.C. and remained one of the commonest decorative devices except possibly in Egypt, Babylon and Assyria."(Harold Osborne,ed., The Oxford Companion to the Decorative Arts, Oxford, 1975, p. 753.)
This motif became popular with the Muslim builders not for any symbolism associated with it but due only to its very composition which facilitated the creation of a variety of geometrical designs with the repeated motif as the key.

26. Foster, op. cit., p. 158.

27. A Dutch Chrinicle of Mughal India, tr. & ed. Brij Narain & Sri Ram Sharma, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 82-84. & De Laet, op. cit., pp. 232-33.

28. Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol. I, Delhi, Rep. 1978, p. 105.

29. Kadir Khan, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

30. The sarai was already in a dilapidated condition when William Barr (visited on 25th January, 1839) and later Captain Leopold Von Orlich (visited on 30th January, 1843) saw it. (William Barr, Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar, and from thence to Cabul, including travels in the Punjab, London, 1884, pp. 14-15 & Leopold Von Orlich, Travels in India including Sinde and the Punjab, Vol. I, London, 1845, p. 270.)

31. Charles J. Rodgers, Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1888-89, Calcutta, 1891, p. 58.

32. Karnal District Gazetteer, Lahore, 1919, p. 222.

33. These gateways were declared protected by the Govt. of India vide notification no. 1083 dated 1st December, 1914. (List of Protected Monuments..., op. cit.,pp. 4-5.)

34. Barr, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. Captain Mundy, *Pen & Pencil Sketches*, Vol. I, London, 1832, p. 105.
In the list of the *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in Punjab and its Dependencies* (Lahore, 1875, pp. 38-39) the date of the erection of the sarai is given as 1048 A.H.= 1638-39 A.D. The source of the author's information has not been quoted.

38. Nawwab Samsam-ud-daula Shah Nawaz Khan, *The Maathir-ul-umara*, Vol. I, tr. H. Beveridge, Patna, n.d., pp. 564-65.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. R. Nath, *Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture*, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 120-28.

43. G. Yazdani, "Narnol and its Buildings", *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. III (1907), pp. 583-84.

44. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, "Haryana Heritage", *Marg*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, Bombay, September, 1974, p. 34.

45. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, vol.II, p. 240.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan, *Shalamar The Glory That Was*, Karachi, n.d., p. 22 .
According to R.A. Jairazbhoy "Simulated brickwork over plaster is first encountered in the mausoleum at Sangbast (Iran) attributed to the Ghaznavid governor Arslan Jadib (early 11th century) in the curved plane of the archivolt enclosing the squinch, and it could be that the technique was invented to circumvent the use of curved bricks. Once established, it became an accepted form of practice to deliberately disguise the brickwork and then imitate it in plaster." (*An Outline of Islamic Architecture*, Bombay, 1972, p. 255.)

49. Tavernier, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

50. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 221-30.
For more details of his life also see Anees Jahan Syed, *Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-Al Lubab*, Bombay, 1970, pp. 281-82.

51. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-23.

52. Ibid., p. 229.
Amanat Khan who wrote inscriptions of the Taj Mahal was a different person. His real name was Abdul-l-Haqq.(Ibid., p. 218 & R.Nath, The Immortal Taj Mahal, Bombay, 1972, p. 55)

53. Shah Nawaz Khan, op. cit., p. 223.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., p. 225.; Letters of Aurangzeba, tr. H. Bilimoria, Delhi, 1972, p. 45, f.n. 1. ; Saqi Mustad Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, tr. Darshan Singh Awara, Patiala, 1977, p. 125.

57. Shah Nawaz Khan, op. cit., p. 226.

58. Kadir Khan, op. cit., p. 18.

59. Captain Mundy, op. cit., p. 145.

60. David Ross, The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh, Patiala, Rep. 1970, p. 229.

61. Barr, op.cit., p. 19.

62. He was born on 11th July, 1653 and died on 8th June, 1707. (Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, Mahan-kosh, Patiala, Rep. 1981, p. 96 .)

63. Charles J. Rodgers, Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab, Lahore, 1891, p. 58.

64. The settlement was named Katju Nagar on 30th July, 1955.

65. Barr, op. cit., p. 11.

66. The western gateway of the sarai also had three stones, but one is missing now.

67. Of the four other Lashkar Khans, the real name of the first was Muhammad Hussain Khurasani. He served as Mir Bakshi during the reign of Akbar and died in the Bengal campaign. (Shah Nawaz Khan, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 830-31.)
The second Lashkar Khan (real name Abul Hasan Mashhadi) retired from imperial service during the sixth regnal year of Shah Jahan. There after he returned to his native country Mashhad and died there.(Ibid., pp. 831-34.)
Sayyid Munnawar son of Sayyid Khan Jahan Shahjahani was also honoured with the title of Lashkar Khan by Aurangzeb. But he mostly served in the Deccan. (Ibid., Vol.II, pp. 356-57.)
The fourth Lashkar Khan (real name Mir Ismail) lived during the reign of Muhammad Shah. (Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 835-36.)

68. Ibid., p. 834.

69. Ibid.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 835.

71. *Ibid.* & Saqi Mustad Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

72. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 835.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

74. It was declared protected by the Govt. of India vide notification no. 4687 dated 19.2.1919. (*List of Protected Monuments*..., op. cit., pp. 4-5.)

75. Rodgers, *Revised List*..., *op. cit.*, p. 32. & *Jullundur District Gazetteer (1904)*, Lahore, 1908, p. 284.

76. Subhash Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in the Punjab & Haryana*, New Delhi, 1985, Plate VII & 16.

77. Sir John Marshall, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1926-27)*, Calcutta, 1930, p. 17.

78. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

79. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.* p. 56.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

83. *Kapurthala State Gazetter (1904)*, Lahore, 1908, p. 45.

CHAPTER IV

TOMBS

The tradition of tomb-construction had not come into existence in India before the Muslims appeared on the scene.[1] In fact, the Indian philosophical concept of life which regards body as a simple abode in which the being dwells temporarily, does not leave any scope for such a tradition.[2]

Islam, too, does not encourage building of tombs. The Hadith strictly forbids the building of a tomb over a grave with stone, burnt-brick or mortar or to write verses upon it.[3] But here, the strong desire to immortalise oneself got the upper hand. And it is to the Muslims that the world owes one of the most splendid traditions of tomb-construction.

The first Muslim tomb erected on the Indian soil is the one popularly known as Sultan Ghari in Delhi. It was built by Sultan Iltutmish to commemorate his son Nasiruddin Muhammad (d. 1231 A.D.). Beginning with this structure, this tradition culminated under the Mughals, in the memorials like the Taj Mahal which occupy a prominent place in the history of world architecture.

During the Mughal period, some fine tombs were erected in the region under study also. Broadly, these tombs can be classified into two categories on the basis of their plan - the square and the octagonal.

In essence, the square tomb comprised a cubic base pierced by arched openings and the whole crowned with a spherical dome.

In the early specimens, the exterior used to be composed of false storeys, having in the middle of each side a rectangular projected frame containing the archway. This form descended from the Lodi tombs. During the time of Akbar, the false storeys of the exterior were replaced by the real ones and the central projecting frame with a deep *ivan*. It enclosed a square or octagonal room. The simpler form also continued to be erected along with this complex one.

The octagonal form further resolves itself into two types. Of these, the first type is a regular octagon where as the second type is a Baghdadi octagon - a square octagonalised by chamfering its angles.[4] In both the cases, each face of a tomb was pierced by one or two storeys of arched recesses which on cardinal sides contained the archways. These archways were sometimes filled with trellis-work, leaving the entrance side open. In some tombs, the archway on the western side was closed to form a mihrab, thus bestowing on the macabre the sanctity of the mosque. The room enclosed in the octagonal type of tombs could be square or octagonal in shape. The whole was roofed with a dome.

Both the types - the saquare and the octagonal- underwent changes in details and continued to be used with minor variations. Here follows an account of the Mughal tombs in the region under study, in a roughly chronological order:

Tombs at Hissar

In Haryana, the historical city of Hissar has the maximum number of tombs - fifteen in all. Of these, fourteen stand in the form of three groups.

The largest group comprising nine tombs (including the largest

one which has recently been converted into a temple) is situated on the old Hansi road (near Nand Cinema). According to Rodgers, the total number of tombs in this group was thirteen.[5] Twelve of them were extant when the present scholar visited the place in 1980. As told by their inscriptions, these tombs were erected for the soldiers who fought and died for Humayun in his Gujarat war against Bahadur Shah, in 1535 A.D.

All the tombs of this group are invariably of the same type, differing in size only (Fig. XX & Plate 30). Most of them stand on raised platforms. Each structure is square in plan. The largest of them (now a temple) measures 13.8 m. square and the smallest one 6.4 m. square. The battering walls, so characteristic of the Tughlaq period, still find use here, although with a low key slope. Each side of the building is pierced by an arched entrance contained in a projected bay. The monotony of the exterior surface is relieved by two or sometimes, three storeys of sunken panels. (Some of the tombs are quite plain having no sunken panels) A coggy brick-course defines the crenellated parapet and also decorates the top of the sunken panels on the exterior. The whole is crowned with a dome resting on an octagonal drum, having its parapet marked with merlons. The exterior surface of the domes of some of the tombs have been given a peculiar treatment. They have raised plaster stripes marking flutes. Only two of the tombs retain parts of their surmounting finials which show an amalka like member. In Mughal buildings, the use of amalka as a crowning member for dome was gradually replaced by a sheath of lotus petals.

Interiorly, each structure constitutes a square room covered

with a domical ceiling. The transition from the square to the dome is achieved by a corner arch.

In the most of the tombs in the region under study, the graves have been destroyed by treasure-seekers who believed that untold wealth lay hidden under the graves. In this group of tombs at Hissar also the graves are extant only in one of them. Three tombs have crypts also.[6]

Turquoise and ultramarine blue square tiles provide colour to the three of the tombs. One of these has yellow tiles also. The interior of the five tombs is adorned with stucco patterns. Only one of these has such decoration on the exterior also.

According to Rodgers and P. Horn, three tombs of this group had stucco inscriptions.[7] Two of these were extant when the present scholar visited the place in 1980. But now only one of these survives and that too in an obliterated condition. Fortunately, the inscriptions had been photographed during the first visit of the present scholar.

The text of the inscription that survives, as translated by P. Horn runs as follows:[8]

"In the auspicious time and reign of Humayun (the king, etc.) - May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and elevate his condition and dignity! - this building of Waltu Khan...., son of Mir... son of Sultan Malik Beg was finished on the third (?) of the month of Ramzan, 943."[9] (the month began the 13th March, 1537)

Along the right hand side , almost in the same line with the above are the following words: "...20,000 copper tankas (1000 rupees) was completed under the superintendence of Shaikh Munawwar , son of Qasim."

Blochmann considers it possible that the Waltu Khan of this

inscription was the Baltu Khan mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari.[10] But the possibility is ruled out by further information about him in the Ain. He is mentioned as " a grandee of Humayun, who served in the Kabul war and in the battles which led to Humayun'S restoration."[11] Waltu Khan who died in the Gujarat campaign could not have served in the battles that led to Humayun's restoration.

The contents of the recently destroyed inscription (Plate 31) have been translated as follows:[12]

" In the propitious time and the august reign of the king of India and Khorasan, who raises the banner of holy strife and war, Tahiruddin Muhammad Humayun, Badshah-i-Ghazi - May (God) perpetuate his caliphate!- this building was completed during the month of Ramzan of the year 944 [the month began the 1st February, 1538]. It was made for the sake of Mir Ashiq Muhammad, son of Mir Shah Ali, and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarat. The cost was 12,000 copper tankas (600 rupees)."

The translation of the text of the last inscription runs as follows:[13]

" In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorasan, who raises the banner of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humayun, Badshah-i-Ghazi - May (God) perpetuate his caliphate! - this building was completed in the month of Rajab - May its dignity be magnified! - of the year 944 [the month began the 4th December, 1537]. And this cupola (was made) for the sake of Tardi Kochak, son of Mir Baranteq, the Mughal, and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarat. The cost was 15,000 copper tankas (750 rupees)."

Blochmann reads the cost of the building in all the three

inscriptions as black _tankas_.[14] The words _siyah tanka_ were clearly readable in the inscription on the tomb of Mir Ashiq Muhammad.

At present, all of the tombs but for the biggest, are being appropriated as cattle-sheds or granaries by the local inhabitants.

A group of three tombs is situated in the same city, near Gaushala. Each is known by the common name of _Gumbad_ being the vernacular for 'dome'. According to Rodgers, they used to be five in number.[15] The extant three have been erected in the same style. _Kankar_[16] has been used in one of these for foundations and staircase. Only one of the tombs has sunken panels. None of these bears glazed tiles. One of the tombs has an inscription. P. Horn's translation of the inscription runs thus:[17]

" How beautiful is the dome of the paradise -like mausoleum; its mortar and bricks are like musk and ambergris. From the scent of this garden the brain is perfumed; and a salsabil (a spring in paradise) flows from its trees. The secretary of the heaven (Mercury) turned round it, when the date was written on the dome: A.H. 975 [the year began the 8th July, 1567]. A thousand praises are due to Bayazid, by whose order the bricks were placed on the foundation. The writer was Kabir."

Evidently, the tomb was originally situated in a garden.

Two other tombs in the same style stand outside the city on the road to Delhi and a solitary tomb stands in the precincts of the Haryana Seed Corporation.

The last one is known as Chiri Gumbad (Plate 32). Its foundations and stairs are made of _Kankar_. It measures 9.0 m. square outside and 5.4 m. square inside. It has two interesting

features. The first is that after converting the square of the room into an octagon by building an arch in each corner, again an arch in each corner converts it into a sixteen-sided figure. The second feature is that the spandrels of the arches on the interior are filled with shallow patterns formed by moulded brick-ends.

<u>Tombs at Mehm (District Rohtak)</u>

At Mehm, there are three tombs known by the common name of <u>Gumbad</u>. None of these bears the name of the person it commemorates.

The biggest of these is situated to the southeast of the town, near the <u>baoli</u> of Saidu Kalal (Plate 33). The building measures 8.6 m. square and stands on a square platform of 15.2 m. side. Each wall of the tomb has a rectangular recess covered with a pointed arch, slightly broader at the base. Only the southern recess is pierced by an entrance. The interior of the tomb is 4.8 m. square.

The building rises to a height of 7.5 m. and is crowned with a dome raised on a 1.9 m. high octagonal drum of 2.6 m. side. Stairs in the western wall lead to the roof of the building.

The second tomb stands about one km. off the town, towards Rohtak. It is a 6.4 m. square structure. Only the western wall of the tomb has an entrance, 1.5 m. broad. The tomb chamber measures 4.1 m. square and has a recess in each wall. A staircase in the southern wall approaches the roof, covered with a dome, built on a 0.8 m. high octagonal drum of 2.3 m. side.

The parapet of the tomb was 5.0 m. high but due to soil erosion, it now looks half a metre higher from the ground.

The third tomb is situated at a small distance, to the

other side of the road. It resembles the tombs at Hissar. It is a 5.6 m. square building. Each of its walls is pierced by a 1.2 m. broad arch. The interior of the tomb measures 3.7 m. square and is roofed with a dome supported on an octagonal drum. The dome is surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding.

All the three tombs are brick structures having slightly sloping, plaster-coated walls, marked with sunken panels.

The graves in all of these have been destroyed.

None of these bears any inscription. Neither do these tombs have any peculiar architectural feature that can help us to date them.

At present, all the three tombs are being used to store dung-cakes or straw.

Tombs at Goravar (District Rohtak)

In all , there are three tombs at Goravar. Two of these are situated on the periphery of the village.

The first tomb is a square building of 8.0 m. side having slightly (0.2 m.) projected bay on each side (Plate 34 & Fig.XXI). Each projected bay, but for the western one, is pierced by an arch. The outside walls of the building are relieved with sunken panels, one on either side of each bay. The parapet of the tomb is marked by decorative crenelation that also appears on the parapet of the octagonal drum supporting the dome. The dome is surmounted by the usual inverted lotus moulding.

In its pristine condition, there was a minaret, planted at each corner of the building, the stumps of which are extant.

The interior of the tomb measures 4.8 m. square. The western

wall has a mihrab. The mihrab and each of the entrances is flanked by a 0.5 m. deep recess.

The building is made of brick and kankar, originally covered with a layer of plaster.

The second tomb stands nearby. Only one corner of its building is extant, But the surviving portion is enough to say that it was more attractive in appearance than the tomb described above. The building was made of kankar-blocks, inlaid with red sandstone. The two inscriptions that are extant comprise Quranic verses, hence of no historical significance.

The third tomb stands two km. away from the village, towards Jhajjar. It is a brick building standing on the foundations of kankar (Plate 35). It measures 8.8 m. square outside and 5.2 m. square inside. It has slightly sloping walls. Each face of the tomb, but for the western one, has a rectangular recess pierced by an almost flat-headed arch. The western face of the tomb has a 2.8 m. long bay projected 0.25 m. out of the wall.

One flight of steps (0.7 m. broad) in the northern wall approaches the roof of the tomb where a low dome covers the octagonal drum of 2.3 m. side and 1.5 m. height. The parapet of the tomb rises to a height of 5.4 m.

The walls of the tomb have sunken panels of various shapes.

Originally, the whole building was plastered. Traces of red colour are also visible on its walls.

None of the tombs at Gorawar has any cenotaph.

Nothing is known about the persons whose mortal remains were enshrined in these tombs and about the dates of their erection. The use of flat-headed arch in the last tomb, however, indicates that it was erected on a date quite later than that of the other two.

Tomb of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul (District Mohindergarh)

Shah Quli Khan was one of the most trusted nobles of Akbar. His full name was Shah Quli Khan Mahram-i-Baharlu. Baharlu is the name of the clan of Qaraquilu Turks to which Bairam Khan also belonged.[18] Mahram was the title granted to him by Akbar when he castrated himself on having been allowed to the harem of the emperor.[19] In the beginning, he was in the service of Bairam Khan.[20] After his master's death, Quli Khan was appointed the governor of the Punjab in the twentieth year of Akbar's reign.[21] Previously, he had rendered commendable services in the second battle of Panipat. He was the man whose arrow pierced Hemu's eye.[22] He died of dysentry in 1010 A.H. (the year began the 22nd June, 1601).[23] He made Narnaul his home where he built magnificent buildings,[24] including his own tomb. It is situated outside the town.

This tomb is one of the most attractive buildings in the region under study (Plate 36). The building stands on a two metre high octagonal platform of 11.5 m. side. The tomb itself is also octagonal in shape, each side measuring 5.2 m. outside and 3.25 m. inside (Fig. XXIX). The floor of the tomb, itself 1.2 m. higher than the platform, on which reposes the cenotaph chamber, is deftly marked by a modillion cornice all around the building. Each face of the building has a semi-octagonal recess, pierced with an arch. But for the southern one, all the openings are latticed, providing subdued light to the interior (Plate 37). The rest of the space on each face is divided into panels each filled with geometrical patterns carved in red sandstone.

The parapet of the building which is 8.5 m. above the platform, is decorated with merlons. Each merlon has a carved flower in it. The whole is crowned with a white plastered dome, resting on a 2.6 m. high octagonal drum of 4.0 m. side. The cardinal sides of the drum have one ventilator each, screened with a lattice.

The interior of the tomb is faced with marble. It enshrines six cenotaphs. The soffit of the domical ceiling is adorned with designs painted in red and green. The tomb owes its attractive appearance both to its harmonious proportions and the masterly combination of colours, i.e., the grey of its body, the red of the carved designs and the white of the dome.

The tomb bears two Persian inscriptions. The text of the inscription on the southern face, as translated by G. Yazdani, reads:[25]

"The eye of the sky has not seen its match, for in elegance it is unique and single. Its roof is polished like a mirror, and its exterior is transparent like its interior. I said in my mind, ' O God ! What would be the chronogram of this building?' Wisdom suddenly, for the date of its completion said, 'The strong and elegant dome', 982 A.H." (the year began the 23rd April, 1574).

The second inscription is on its northern face and it has been rendered into English as follows:[26]

" The exalted Nawab Shah Quli Khan, when he founded this tomb, the guardian of paradise, as it were, opened a door from heaven to this place. Whoever saw the high dome said, ' May mercy be upon the Khan'...."

Evidently, Shah Quli Khan himself built his tomb during his lifetime. It was not anything unusual among the Muslims. In this way, one could ensure a suitable memorial to himself which his descendants might not build after his death. The builder used the building as a place of recreation during his lifetime. After his death, it became the place of rest for his mortal remains.

After one decade and a half, Shah Quli Khan laid out a garden around the tomb and named it 'Aram-i-kausar'.[27] Of the garden, its gateway, enclosing walls and five wells are extant. The gateway, locally called Tripolia is a fine edifice (Plate 38). An inscription on it, records the date of its erection to be 997 A.H. (the year began the 10th November, 1588).

Like the most of the monuments in the town, it is made of rubble, easily available from the nearby range of the Aravalli hills.[28] Usually the rubble masonry was covered with a thick coat of plaster.

The gateway is a three-storeyed structure having slightly sloping walls. It covers a plinth area of 14.1 m. by 13.4 m. and soars to a height of 13.0 m. The ground floor of the gateway comprises a 4.3 m. broad passage flanked by a 2.2 m. deep semi-octagonal recess and one room in each corner. One long flight of steps on either side of the gateway leads directly to the third storey, consisting of a central room, 4.3 m. square, a deep verandah on each side and one room in each corner. Double stairs built through the thickness of the walls approach the intermediate storey comprising four corner rooms only. On the terrace of the building is a 1.7 m. high octagonal platform

of 2.4 m. side.

Graceful painted designs can still be seen on the interior of the gateway and the third storey room whereas those on the facade have faded away. The motif depicted is a circular medallion and the only colour used is Indian red.

At present, the gateway is being used as a private accommodation although it appears in the list of the monuments declared protected by the Department of Archaeology of the state of Haryana.

Tomb of Islam Quli Khan at Narnaul (District Mohindergarh)

Within the precincts of Shah Quli Khan's former garden Aram-i-kausar stands another tomb of note (Plate 39).

This tomb is a square structure, each side measuring 10.6 m. outside and 6.0 m. inside (Fig. XXIX). The middle portion of each face of the tomb, having a recess, is slightly projected. The recesses are rectangular on two sides and semi-octagonal on the remaining two. On either side of the main recess are two shallow recesses. Each main recess is pierced with an arch. But for on the southern side, each arch is screened with a lattice of red sandstone, similar to those in the nearby tomb of Shah Quli Khan. These lattices filtered the light that fell through them.

The building enshrines three cenotaphs. In each corner of of the room is an arch to provide the dome with an octagonal base. One flight of stairs from the northern and the southern sides each approaches the roof of the tomb. The parapet of the building is 7.6 m. high from the floor. At each corner of the parapet rises a 1.9 m. high cylindrical tower terminating in a lotus pinnacle. In the centre rises the dome, on a 2.2 m. high

octagonal drum of 3.3 m. side. The dome is surmounted by an inverted lotus moulding and a finial which is partly broken.

The tomb stands on a 24.2 m. square and 1.7 m. high platform approached by one flight of stairs projected on the eastern side. The platform accommodates the crypt having its entrance on the southern side.

The whole building is made of rubble covered with a thick coat of plaster, worked into stalactites on the soffit of the recesses. The traces of red colour are visible on the parapet and the drum.

According to Abdul Latif who passed through the town in 1608 A.D.[29], the man who lies buried in this tomb is Islam Quli Khan, brother of Shah Quli Khan.[30] Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, on the authority of Ain-i-Akbari, relates that " he kept 1200 women and was so suspicious that whenever he went to the Imperial court, he put his seal over the strings of their under-garments and that out of annoyance the women at last, poisoned him."[31] But this information in the Ain is related to one Ismail Quli Khan and not Islam Quli Khan.[32] The present scholar has not come across any person of the name Islam Quli Khan in the chronicles of the period.

The building though declared protected by the Department of the state of Haryana, is being used for storing dung-cakes.

Tomb of Sheikh Shahbaz at Palwal (District Faridabad)

The tomb stands to the north of the town. According to Rodgers, it was situated in a mud fort.[33] But no trace of the fort is extant.

In plan, the tomb is a regular octagon of 4.7 m. side

standing on a platform of the same shape but of 5.2 m. side (Plate 40). Each cardinal side of the tomb has a rectangular recess, pierced by a 1.2 m. broad arched entrance and a ventilator above. Each diagonal side has a semi-octagonal recess in it. Below the parapet is projected a deep chhajja, supported on carved stone brackets. A slightly stilted dome is poised on the structure.

The tomb chamber measures 5.2 m. square. Each corner of the room is bridged with a tall arch, converting the square of the room into an octagon of alternately large and small arms. Stalactites have been used to appropriate this shape to the circular base of the dome.

A flight of stairs in the southern wall approaches the roof of the tomb.

This tomb is made of brick and rubble, covered with plaster, polished to mirror brightness.[34] The exterior as well as the interior was highly embellished with painted geometrical and arabesque designs. While the decoration on the inner walls retains its red pigment, only the incised outlines of the patterns survive on the exteiror.

Now the tomb chamber has no grave. The crypt of the tomb in which actual burial took place, is extant.

The tomb once stood in a walled in square enclosure of 23.5 m. side. Only a small portion of this enclosing wall is extant.

The tomb is devoid of any inscription. Traditionally, it is associated with the name of one Sheikh Shahbaz.

One Shahbaz Khan Kambu lived during the reign of Akbar.[35] But he lies buried in the enclosure of the tomb of Khwaja

Muinuddin Chishti at Ajmer.[36] Another Shahbaz Khan lived during the reign of Shah Jahan and was killed in 1040 A.H.[37] (the year began the 31st July, 1630). The name of the only person from Palwal, mentioned in medieval chronicles that the present scholar has come across was Shahab Khan Turkoman who was executed by Akbar for giving shelter to an insurgent Muhammad Amin Diwana, in 974 A.H.[38] (the year began the 19th July, 1566).

It is not known for certain if the man buried in the tomb at Palwal was any one of the persons mentioned above.

In appearance, this tomb is quite similar to the tomb of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul. Hence, it may be roughly contemporaneous with it.

<u>Tomb of Jalaluddin at Thanesar (District Kurukshetra)</u>

The tomb stands on a high platform to the north of the town (Plate 41).

It is a square building measuring 5.7 m. side outside and 5.0 m. side inside (Fig. XXIV). The structure is formed by twelve red sandstone pillars, each 0.4 m. square at the base. The middle pillars are set 1.9 m. apart and those on the sides only 1.28 m. apart. The pillars support carved brackets and then beams. The brackets carry the eaves running right round the building. One beam is placed diagonally across each corner which makes the square an octagon. Again the same treatment converts it to a sixteen-sided figure which supports the circular rim of the hemi-spherical dome. An inverted lotus moulding and a <u>kalasa</u> finial surmounts the dome.

The interstices between the pillars, but for the entrance are filled with lattices and masonry. The plinth of the tomb

is 0.7 m. high and has its top carved with a frieze of petals.

Under the eaves runs " an arabic inscription, a quotation, going round the two sides and the back of the tomb.... On the side or front the Tughra Arabic gives place to Nastaliq Persian, highly embellished with scrolls abd foliage, but, illegible."[39]

The bases of all the pillars and the inner side of the lintel have carved decorations. The parapet of the tomb has merlons. Each merlon on the front side has a flower carved in it whereas each of the rest of the three sides has merlons with the word 'Allah' in them.

The tomb enshrines only one grave.

Jalaluddin, the person who lies buried in this tomb was a famous saint in Akbar's time. Badaoni gives an account of his life.[40] He was the <u>khalifa</u> or the deputy of Sheikh Abdul Quddus Gangoh.[41] He died in the year 989 A.H.[42] (the year began the 5th February, 1581). Hence the date of erection of this tomb must also have been approximate to this date.

<u>Tomb of Shah Nizam at Narnaul (District Mohindergarh)</u>

The tomb is situated in the locality known as Pir Agha. It forms the nucleus of the Dargah of Shah Nizam, but now it has been appropriated for a private residence.

The building measures 9.6 m. square from outside and 6.4 m. square from inside (Plate 42). Each face of the building has an arched recess. But for the western side, each recess is pierced by a rectangular entrance. But only one side is open now, the other two having been bricked up. The western side of the tomb was sealed so as to accommodate a mihrab on the inner side.

On the exterior, the dead surface on either side of each arched recess is relieved with two sunken panels. Decorative crenelations mark the parapet of the tomb. The building is covered with a dome carried on an octagonal drum, surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding and a finial. A peculiar feature of the dome of this tomb and some of the other tombs at Karnaal is the stepping stones projected on their curved surfaces.

The whole building is plastered. Traces of former painted designs are still visible on the eastern wall, parapet and drum.

The tomb bears no inscription now. But, about the beginning of our century, G. Yazdani noticed an inscription on it which he translated as follows:[43]

" Alas! the leader of the world, the administrator of religion, has passed away whose holy nature was kneaded out of pure light. The exalted Shaikh, as he has an angelic disposition, so when I counted the date of his death, it came out, 'He was an angel' - 997 A.H." (the year began the 10th November, 1588).

Shah Nizam, called "Shaikh Nizamu-d-Din" by Badaoni was a disciple of Sheikh Khanan of the Chishti order.[44] Badaoni gives some details of his life.[45] The date of his death, as recorded in the said inscription, is corroborated by Badaoni.[46] Another chronogram " Ah Nizam" or "Ala for Nizam" was written on this occasion.[47] The words of this chronogram also give the same date, i.e., 997 A.H.[48]

Tomb of Shamsher Khan at Batala (District Gurdaspur)

Situated to the southeast of the town, near Baring College, is the tomb of Shamsher Khan (Plate 43).[49] Locally, it is

called Hadira , an Arabic word for a 'tomb'.

The tomb stands on a raised plinth measuring 39 m. by 34 m. surrounded by a low wall. The wall on the western side has a small mihrab. Each angle of the platform is marked by a circular bastion, covered with a dome. Each bastion accommodates a small room in it. The tomb, planted in the middle of the platform, is approached through a simple gateway projected on the southern side.

The tomb is an octagonal structure with alternating sides measuring 8.3 m. and 6.1 m. length. Each wall has two storeys of recesses on the exterior. The recesses in the smaller sides are semi-octagonal whereas those in the cardinal sides are rectangular in shape, all covered with pointed arches. On either side of the recesses is a vertical row of sunken panels.

An archway in the southern wall gives access to the interior which is a regular octagon of 3.0 m. side. As on the exterior, each of its walls is also treated with two-storey recessions. A Cornice like moulding separates the two storeys.

A flight of steps in the right hand wall of the entrance lands in a 0.75 m. broad intermediate gallery, revolving right round the building. Another stairway reaches the roof of the building. The height of the tomb upto parapet is 10.4 m. A low dome resting on a 1.6 m. high drum roofs the tomb. The surface of the dome is divided by moulded plaster flutes. A sheath of lotus petals crowns the dome.

The interior and exterior of the tomb had been richly adorned with paintings depicting floral and geometrical designs, ayat from the Quran and Persian verses.[50] The decoration is

extent on the interior but on the exterior only the traces of the decoration survive. Along the base of the soffit of the dome runs a design of swastikas (Plate 44). The soffit is painted with panels depicting vase & flower motif, trees, plants and flowers etc. Painted birds can be seen on the facade of the entrance . The colour palette is limited to deep bluish green and Indian red.

The interior of the gateway also bears some traces of painted decorations. The whole of its outer surface had been originally painted with imitation brickwork in red and white.

Stalactites appear on the soffits of the recesses on the exterior.

Over the entrance arch of the tomb is fixed an inscription stone measuring 61 cm. by 38 cm. The raised letters of the inscription have been carved with great skill. Wahid Mirza has rendered the text of the inscription into English as follows:[51]

" In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to God who made possible the construction of this tank and mosque and garden for the sake of Divine pleasure. It was commenced on the 25th of the month of Safar in the year 997 A.H. (3rd January, 1589) and completed on the 10th of Ramzan in the year 998 of the migration of the Prophet (3rd July, 1590) during the caliphate of the Imam of Islam and the Muslims, Abdul Fath Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah-i-Ghazi. The builder thereof (is) one who hopes for the mercy of God, the Benevolent, the weakest of (His) creatures Shamsher Khan, son of Dastgir Khan Rajput, living in the pargana... of sarkar Manikpur - may God forgive him and cover up his sins! "

The inscription does not say anything about the erection of the tomb. It was, perhaps, erected as a part of the garden so as to serve as a pleasure house during Shamsher Khan's lifetime and later to be converted into a place of burial for him. Hence its erection was not mentioned separately. Therefore, the date mentioned in the inscription may also be taken as the date of construction of the tomb.

Not much is known about Shamsher Khan. In the Gurdaspur District Gazetteer (1883-84), he is mentioned as Akbar's foster-brother, but the source on which the author bases his information is not known.[52] Sujan Rai Bhandari calls him Shamsher Khan Khwasasara.[53] According to him, the Khan was a karori of pargana Batala during the reign of Akbar.[54] The present scholar however, has not been able to trace any reference to him in the chronicles of the period.[55]

A homonymous person was the shiqdar of pargana Rohtak. He laid the foundation of a gateway at Khokrakot (on the outskirts of Rohtak) in Ramzan, 973 A.H.[56] (the month began the 22nd March, 1566) and about two years later built a tomb over the grave of Pir Shafi Dil at Rohtak.[57]

It still remains a conjecture whether or not they are one and the same person.

Tomb of Hussain Khan at Bahlolpur (District Ludhiana)

The tomb is situated to the northeast of the village (Plate 45).

On the exterior, it is an octagonal structure of 6.4 m. side having slightly sloping walls (Fig. XXV). Each of its facade is treated with two-storey recessions and both are semi-domed. Alternate recesses open into the building. The upper

storey of the recesses which has a metre broad gallery around it, was approached by a flight of stairs in the southern wall, now crumbled (Fig. XXVI). Another stairway in the northeast side of the second storey leads to the roof, 9.8 m. above ground. A three metre high octagonal drum rises from the roof. Originally, it supported the outer shell of the hemi-spherical double dome which once covered the tomb.[58] The finial surmounting the dome was missing even when Rodgers saw it in 1888-89 A.D.[59]

An opening in each cardinal side leads to the square interior of 7.3 m. side. The walls of the tomb are 4.3 m. thick. Each wall of the interior has been relieved with one large, sunken , engrailed arch further containing sunken panels. The transition from the square of the room to the dome is achieved by an arch in each corner.

The soffits of the squinch arches still bear traces of painted designs in viridian, red and yellow ochre colours which are there also on the rim of the dome. The traces of stucco stalactites can also be seen on the soffits of the corner arches. Wooden beams embedded in the walls to reinforce them, are still to be found in the southern wall.

In its pristine condition, the building was covered with plaster which had come off even before Rodgers' visit.[60] As a result, the tomb offered him a precarious look. At present, the southern wall of the tomb as well as the whole of its dome has crumbled.

Nothing is known about Hussain Khan with whom the tomb is traditionally associated. As per the local tradition, the tomb is believed to have been erected in the time of Akbar. In appearance, it is not far removed from the tomb of Shamsher Khan at Batala. Hence, its attribution to the period of Akbar may

not be much off the mark.

Tombs at Jhajjar (District Rohtak)

Outside the town of Jhajjar, on the road to Delhi, is a group of seven tombs or better called graveyards (Fig. XXVII & Plate 46). Three others have already completely crumbled. Together, they represent a unique style.

Each graveyard comprises a rectangular platform, having an octagonal bastion at each corner and approached by a flight of steps. Each of them has a mosque or Idgah towards the western side of the platform. Two of these also have chhatris or cupolas. Five tombs bear inscriptions. But the contents of the most of them are verses from the Quran. Only four inscriptions are historical in nature.

The material used for their construction is invariably what is locally called bichhwa kankar. Brick has been used only in tomb number VII. In most of them, red sandstone has been used for decoration, providing a beautiful colour note to the otherwise monotonous grey colour of kankar blocks. Another of their characteristic features is the presence of moulded bosses in spandrels of arches. Most of the tombstones have been upturned and disturbed by treasure-seekers.

The earliest dated monument of the group is the tomb of Miyan Raib (number VI in the plan & Plate 47). The platform of the tomb measures 14.9 m. by 13.0 m. Its gateway bears a finely carved inscription (Plate 48). The text of the inscription has been translated by P. Horn as follows:[61]

" In the time of Shah Akbar, by whose justice came blessing upon the crown of the world... Miyan Raib, son of Piyara. The

town full of light, Jhajjar, is the repose of all nobles. In the year 1002, in the month of Ramzan...." (the month began the 11th May, 1594)

The inner side of the gateway also has some inscribed medallions bearing ' La Illah...'.

To the western side of the tomb is an Idgah. Each corner of the mihrab and the Idgah is marked with a minaret. This wall bears three Quranic inscriptions.

In the midst of the platform is planted a red sandstone chhatri or cupola. It is octagonal in shape, each side measuring 2.0 m. side. It is supported on eight octagonal pillars bearing brackets. The dome of the chhatri is surmounted by an inverted lotus moulding and kalasa finial. Wide eaves encircle the dome. Under this cupola, there are two richly carved tombstones. The inscription on one of these contains the kalima and the words - Qabr-i-Miyan Raib and around the open middle space runs the Fatiha.[62] At the base of the stone a Persian sentence has been engraved which means "Whatsoever came has gone."[63] The second tombstone bears the name of Ghiyasuddin.[64] There is a grave to the right of the cupola too.

Miyan Raib, one of the persons interred in the tomb also built a mosque in the town which was completed on the 10th Zilhajj, 989 (5th January, 1582).[65] The mosque is not extant - to date.

The next dated tomb (number III in plan) is generally referred to as the tomb of Abdus Samad.

The platform of the tomb is approached through a gateway on the southern side. There stands a cupola of 1.7 m. side just

opposite the gateway. To the west of the cupola is a mosque. Entered through three archways in the eastern wall, the mosque comprises a single room. Its northern and southern sides each has an opening. The sides of the interior are covered with semi-domical ceilings and the central portion, over the mihrab, with a dome. The western wall has five turrets in all, two of which are of a smaller size. The corner turrets terminate into lotus flower pinnacles.

The mosque and the ceiling of the gateway are richly decorated. The masonry joints of kankar blocks are marked white. The facade of the mosque is divided into sunken panels filled with red sandstone bearing either an inscription or a carved design. The interior has been plastered and richly painted. The motifs comprise arabesques, floral borders, calligraphic medallions, geometrical designs and vase and flowers. The last motif also appears in carved form on the exterior.

There are five inscriptions above the central arch of the mosque. Only one of these, the central one, is of an historical value. It comprises six verses in Persian. P. Horn's translation of the inscription runs as follows:[66]

" In a good career is the faith of Islam in the time of the king Nuraddin (Jahangir) O God! may his justice and equity stand firm and solid a thousand years! This masjid has been built by Ismail Irah [the correct reading of the word is 'ibn' meaning ' son of'] Raib, who is a student of the faith. I asked the mind the date-year, the guiding mind(said) to me '1020' [began 16th March, 1611]. (I), a hermit, the poor Abd as-Samad, the son of Makan, who belongs to the family of the Abbassides,

to the companions of Muhammad the Arabian, the pious ones in the high Paradise."

The name of Abdus Samad, son of Makam appears also in the inscription (not extant) on the northwestern arch of a small burj on the western side of the tank of Shah Kamal Ghazi in the same town, built by Rai Rayan Rai Durga Mal in 1036 A.H. (the year began the 12th September, 1626. .[67] According to the Rohtak District Gazetteer, Abdus Samad and his father Makam lie buried in the Bazarwala Mosque.[68] Therefore, most probably, the person buried in the tomb is Ismail son of Miyan Raib, the builder of the mosque and not Abdus Samad, son of Makam. Rodgers names the tomb correctly.[69] Abdus Samad might have been the composer of the inscriptions.

Next in chronological order is the tomb of Hasan Shaheed (number V in the plan). Its platform measures 13.0 m. by 10.2 m. The front bastions of the platform are larger in size than those on the rear corners. A 2.8 m. broad flight of stairs gives access to the platform through a gateway. Perhaps, it was originally provided with wooden doors as the hinges for the same are extant.

The courtyard has four graves.

The western side of the platform is closed by the Idgah wall. The rear corners are marked with a minaret each. Here again, the joints of the kankar blocks are marked white. Some traces of painted decoration are also visible.

The Idgah wall carries four inscriptions, two over the mihrab, the other two on the right hand side. The left hand side has crumbled. It also might have born two inscriptions. Only the lower inscription on the mihrab is of an historical value.

P. Horn's translation of the inscription reads as follows:[70]

"In the time of Jahangir, the king of the world, this light tomb of Masam Shahid has been made. The date of it for a tomb has been brought by somebody (?) in the year 1035." (the year began the 23rd September, 1625).

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand gives the date 1596-97 A.D. which is not correct.[71]

Nothing is know about Nur Shahid.

The eastern most monument is the latest among the dated ones of the group. Its platform measures 26.4 m. by 17.9 m. and rises to a height of 3.7 m. Each corner of the platform is marked with an octagonal bastion of 1.6 m. side, covered with a platform projected on brackets. The main platform is approached by a 6.5 m. long and 2.8 m. broad flight of steps on the eastern side. Some graves lie scattered in the courtyard.

A mosque rests on the western side of the platform. It covers a plinth area, measuring 9.6 m. by 5.5 m. The mosque comprises a single chamber measuring 7.8 m. by 3.2 m. It has three entrances on the eastern side and one each on the northern and the southern side. All the five entrances are of the same size. One mihrab is recessed in the western wall. The sides of the chamber are covered with semi-domical ceilings, leaving an almost square portion in the middle, above which rises a dome. On the exterior, the dome stands on an octagonal drum and has been surmounted by an inverted lotus moulding. Each corner of the facade is marked by an octagonal pilaster and each rear corner by an octagonal turret terminating into a minaret.

The facade of the mosque has been decorated with carved

vase and flowers designs. Along the parapet runs the usual flower pattern in relief, having a crimson red painted background. This pattern also encircles the top of the octagonal drum of the dome. Moulded stalactites appear on the soffits of the side semi-domes and the pendentives of the main dome. The masonry joints of the kankar blocks are marked white.

The mosque bears five inscriptions, four of which exhibit Quranic verses. The lower inscription over the central arch of the facade gives the date of erection of the mosque and the name of its builder. P. Horn has translated the text of the inscription as follows:[72]

" By the grace and favour of the aids of the settler of the world, this high place has been arranged and constructed. Kalal Khan[73] has built this high mosque in the time of Shahjahan, the refuge of men. It was in the year 1039 [began the 21st August 1629]. God - may he be honoured and exalted! - keeps it in safety and security." But according to Cunningham, the year 1039 A.H. began the 11th August, 1629.[74]

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand gives its date as " 1009 Hijri or 1600 A.D." which is not correct.[75]

Little is known about Kalal Khan, the builder of the mosque. Most probably, he lies interred in one of the graves in the courtyard of the mosque.

The remaining three tombs are dateless.

Of these, the tomb number II is the largest of the group. The tomb proper is an octagonal building of 5.1 m. side and rises to a height of 7.7 m.[76] Each cardinal side of the building has a 1.8 m. deep rectangular recess covered with a semi-dome.

Each recess but for the western one, is pierced by an arched entrance and a ventilator above. All the three entrances are provided with stone hinges which once held the doors. The recesses in the diagonal sides are merely 0.6 m. deep.

The interior of the tomb measures 6.4 m. square. The western wall of the room accommodates a mihrab. One arch in each of its corners converts it into an octagon which supports the circular rim of the dome. One flight of stairs in the southern wall approaches the roof of the tomb where a 1.8 m. high octagonal drum of 3.6 m. side supports the hemi-spherical dome. The roof has water spouts to throw away rain water.

Unlike the other monuments of the group, red sandstone has not been used in this tomb. But it has traces of rich decoration painted in viridian, yellow ochre and Indian red colours on the mihrab, squinches, soffit of the dome and spandrels. The painted decoration comprises arabesque and geometrical designs. The painting is of the incised type in which first a layer of colour was laid and the design traced over it; then according to the need of the design some parts of the coloured layer were scrapped off. Stalactites appear on the soffits of the corner arches and below the rim of the dome. Besides the decoration cited above, the interior walls have some sunken panels also which contain decorative cusped arches.

Close to the tomb stands an octagonal chhatri of 1.9 m. side. It is made of octagonal grey stone pillars having quadruple brackets.

The tomb and the chhatri sit on a platform measuring 36.0 m. by 24.6 m., accessible by a three metre broad flight of steps.

The western side of the platform has a wall provided with recesses. The larger and deeper central recess forms the mihrab.

It remains to ascertain who lies buried in the tomb as it has neither any inscription nor is it traditionally associated with the name of any person. But one thing is certain that it was erected before the tomb of Ismail (number III in the plan) because all the tombs of the group have their entrances on the eastern side but the said tomb is entered from the southern side as its eastern side had already been blocked by the tomb just described. Therefore, the upper limit of its date of erection seems to be 1020 A.H. (the year began the 16th March, 1611).

The tomb number IV is quite similar to the tomb number V. Its Idgah wall was complete when the present scholar visited the place in 1980 A.D. but the southern portion crumbled later on. There was one inscription over each arch, four of which are [redacted] extant. The Ayat from the Quran form the content of these inscriptions. Some of the red sandstone panels are carved with the niche and the flower motifs. It appears that, in its pristine condition, each corner of the Idgah terminated into a minaret just like in the tomb of Hasan Shahid.

The tomb number VII resembles the tomb numbers IV and V. But brick has also been used in this tomb and the whole of its body was originally plastered. The only form of decoration here is designed sunken panels. Its northern portion has crumbled. Two graves occupy the courtyard. It bears no inscription either Quranic or historical.

Nothing is known about the persons mentioned in the inscriptions on these tombs. They appear to have been personages of some local importance.

All the tombs are now overgrown with rank vegetation. Most of the graves have been dug out over and over again by the treasure-seekers. The people of the town defecate in these monuments.

<u>Tomb of Jamil Beg at Kalanaur (District Gurdaspur)</u>

The tomb stands about one kilometre to the northwest of the town. It was in a precarious condition even when Rodgers saw it, about a hundred years ago. He reports that the tomb " has been so injured by neglect and by vandalism that its four side walls and the dome are cracked and full of holes."[77] He suggests " the tomb should certainly be repaired, it would be impossible to restore it except at a great cost."[78] It seems that nobody paid any heed to Rodgers' suggestion. Now it is a wreck. All that survives of this once a monumental building, is the parts of its walls with precarious cracks (Plate 49).

The tomb stands on a high square platform of 27.5 m. side but at present, only its western side survives. The tomb used to be a square building with slightly sloping walls, measuring 12.5 m. square outside and 6.4 m. square inside. Each of its four sides was pierced by a recessed doorway with a pointed arch which was covered with a second loftier arch. There was a ventilator above each arch. Wooden beams were inserted in the walls during construction, especially above arched openings, as is visible in some parts. In the corners of the building, there are the remains of the method by which the circular rim of the dome was supported at the place where it crossed the angles of the square hall that it roofed. Each corner of the hall was spanned with an arch converting the square shape to an octagon which supported a double dome.[79] The inner shell of the double dome was only "three thin bricks thick" and was "beautifully

groined."[80] The ribs of the groins were not all there even during the last century and consequently, a part of the inner dome had crumbled. The outer shell of the dome stood on a drum, a small section of which is still extant. The dome was surrounded with four minarets, one at each corner of the tomb, still extant on the southwest corner.

The floor of the tomb and the tombstone of Jamil Beg were made of sang-i-abri, a special kind of stone.[81] Nearby, there was a small tomb made of the same stone.[82] The tomb of the father of Jamil Beg was to the east.[83]

This brick building was plastered and polished to imitate marble. Inside and outside, the walls are panelled into niches of various shapes. Some of them also have cusped arches. These panels were embellished with quite rich decorations painted in brick red, chocolate and blue colours. The decorative scheme exhibits a number of geometrical and arabesque designs. A geometrical design formed with swastika motif is particularly pleasing. Painted medallions appear in spandrels and on the soffits of the semi-domes. A vase and flowers motif is also visible on the southern wall. All painted decorations are of the incised type.

The soffits of the squinches are loaded with adroitly composed stalactites, moulded in stucco. In its pristine condition, some Persian stanzas, beautifully executed in raised stucco letters ran on the interior walls of the tomb. Two of them are extant on the eastern wall. According to Rodgers, these lines express the grief of a father at the death of his son.[84]

Nothing is known about Jamil Beg. Rodgers records a local tradition which says "he was fighting against the hill Rajahs

(of Nurpur or Kangra), and was killed in the skirts of the mountains, but that his headless trunk came on fighting to Kalanaur where it entered the earth."[85] This tradition, however, does not help fix the chronology of the tomb. The style of the building indicates that the date of its construction falls within the period of Akbar.

<u>Tomb of Haji Muhammad at Sirhind (District Patiala)</u>

The tomb is situated just outside the Aam Khas Bagh at Sirhind. The building is octagonal, standing on a platform of the same shape (Fig. XXVIII & Plate 50). It has sloping walls. Each face of the building is 4.4 m. long having a large recess, 1.3 m. deep, on cardinal sides and a 0.8 m. deep recess on the others. The recess in the southern wall is pierced with an arched entrance, giving access to the 6.6 m. square interior. It has a recess in each wall and a beautifully carved cenotaph in the middle of the chamber.

The building is mounted with a single dome, carried on an octagonal drum and surmounted by an inverted lotus moulding. The walls of the building are relieved with sunken panels and alcoves.

The top of the cenotaph has a Persian inscription of seven lines. Its last line records the date of ~~the date of~~ the demise of Haji Muhammad in the form of a chronogram - "<u>Bahisht shud</u>" (May paradise be his!). According to the <u>Abjad</u> system, the chronogram gives the date 1014 A.H. (the year began the 9th May, 1605).

Nothing is known about Haji Muhammad, the man interred in the tomb.

Tomb of Bahadur Khan at Bahlolpur (District Ludhiana)

To the north of the tomb of Hussain Khan, on the south bank of the Buddha Nala (a small off-shoot of the Sutlej) stands the tomb of Bahadur Khan (Plate 51). He is believed to be the son of Hussain Khan. It is better preserved than the tomb nearby.

Standing on an octagonal platform of 6.8 m. side, the tomb is itself an octagon of 5.5 m. sides alternating with 0.2 m. smaller sides (Fig. XXIX). Its slightly sloping walls rise to a height of 7.3 m. from the platform.

Each face of the tomb has one large arched recess which on cardinal sides has a 1.5 m. broad archway and a ventilator above it. Three of its entrances have been bricked up. The interior is a regular octagon of 3.1 m. side. It enshrines three graves. The tomb has a crypt also in which the actual burials took place.

A staircase in the southwestern wall leads to the roof where it is covered with an incongruous structure. The building is covered with a single dome without a drum. The intermediate gallery of the tomb nearby is also missing here as it is a single-storeyed structure.

The interior of the tomb is plastered. Perhaps, the exterior was also plastered but no vestige is extant thereof.

The ground in the vicinity of the tomb is strewn with graves.

The building bears neither any inscription nor has it any specific architectural or decorative feature to help fix its chronology. It is unknown who Bahadur Khan was. He and one Bahlol Khan are believed to have founded the town of Bahlolpur (now merely a small village) during the reign of Akbar.[86] According to the Ludhiana District Gazetteer, their descendants owned land in the area and resided in the village until the opening of our century.[87]

Tomb at Sultanpur Lodi (District Kapurthala)

The tomb stands outside the town, across the rivulet Kali-Veni (Plate 52). It is badly cracked. These days, it is being restored by the Department of Archaeology, Punjab.

The building is an irregular octagon of four large sides alternated with four small sides, measuring 11.2 m. and 5.8 m. respectively. Each cardinal side of the tomb has a large rectangular recess, covered with a pointed arch. There is a vertical row of sunken panels on either side of the recesses. Each arched recess contains two openings, one above the other. The lower forms the entrance and the upper a ventilator. Each small side of the tomb has two storeys of semi-octagonal recesses.

The upper recesses along with their joining galleries form the middle storey of the tomb, approached by four flights of stairs. But thereafter, only one staircase reaches the top of the building where it is roofed by an incongruous structure, detracting from the symmetry of the tomb (like the tomb of Bahadur Khan at Bahlolpur).

The alternate sides of the interior of the tomb measure 3.6 m. and 3.4 m. respectively. Here also, each wall has two storeys of recesses. The upper storey recesses are also open, hence providing ample light to the interior. The whole building is covered with a low single dome, without a drum.

The tomb has no grave at present.

Previously, the building was covered with plaster polished to mirror brightness. The use of jute as a binder in the ghunam layers can be seen on the soffits of the middle-storey recesses. The soffits of the lower-storey recesses on the exterior and

those of the entrance arches on the inner side bear stalactites.

The tomb bears no inscription, neither has it been associated with the name of any person. In plan and elevation, it bears close resemblance to the tomb of Shamsher Khan at Batala. Hence, on a general analogy, the erection of this tomb can also be placed in the later half of the sixteenth century.

Tomb of Ustad at Nakodar (District Jalandhar)

There are two fine Mughal tombs, situated close together, at Nakodar. They are popularly known - the first as that of the Ustad or the teacher and the other that of his Shagird or the pupil.[88]

The ground plan of the tomb of Ustad is an octagon of four large and four small sides (Fig. XXX & Plate 53). Each large side measures 9.8 m. and the small one 6.4 m. These sides enclose a square room of 9.0 m. side. Each large face of the tomb has a rectangular recess, pierced by a doorway and two ventilators. The eastern and the western doorways and all the ventilators are screened with trellis-work, composed of small units of lattices. The northern doorway was, perhaps, also screened in the same manner. Each small side of the tomb has two recesses, the lower one is semi-octagonal and the upper one rectangular. Two flights of steps (each 0.8 m. broad) on the northern and the southern sides each, communicate with the upper recesses. But only one staircase reaches the roof of the tomb where it opens under a pentagonal structure. There are three more such structures, instead of seven.

The tomb is crowned with a dome, surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding and a pinnacle.

At present, there is no sarcophagus in the tomb. But in November, 1838, Cunningham noticed two very elegant and highly polished sarcophagi of sienna-coloured marble, inlaid with white

marble inscription.[89]

The tomb stands on a 1.6 m. high octagonal platform of 14.4 m. and 11.2 m. alternate sides. This platform, paved with octagonal bricks, is approached by a double flight of steps on the northern and the southern sides. This platform accommodates the crypt of the tomb where there are the true sarcophagi. The entrance to the crypt is in the southern side, from under the staircase. The sides of the platform are plain.

The most significant feature of the tomb is its decoration. The spandrels of arches, middle panels, parapet and corner structures are encrusted with glazed tiles of yellow, blue and green colours. All the patterns are geometrical, composed of star and octagon shapes. The joints of the glazed tiles are separated by thin raised ridges of plaster. It was a characteristic of the glazed tile work of the early seventeenth century. Cunningham noticed the same peculiarity in the glazed tile work of Jahangir's palace at Lahore.[90] The other example of this type of work can be seen on the gateways of the sarai at Doraha.

The tile work is supplemented with paintings executed in dark green and Indian red colours. The lower panels have the vase and flowers motif and the upper panels that of a flowering plant or a tree. Animate motifs also appear in two of the upper panels. In one of these, there is a monkey sitting in a date tree and in the other a serpent girdling the trunk of a tree.

A circular design in yellow ochre, viridian, dark green and Indian red is painted on the soffit of the dome.

The soffits of the squinches and the upper arches bear moulded stalactites and the soffits of the corner recesses on the exterior

have painted stalactites.

The remaining surface on the exterior, surrounding the glazed-tiled and painted panels was decorated with imitation brickwork in red and white, the traces of which are still in existence.

The interior of the tomb has a marble-like coating of plaster. The border of the long inscription in white against a dark green background, running right round the walls on the interior, proclaims the divine massage.

An inscription on the exterior tells us that it is the "Tomb of the most contemptible of the worshippers of God, Muhammad Mumin, Huseni, A.H. 1021"[91] (the year began the 23rd February, 1612.)

In Blochmann's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, one Muhammad Mumin is referred to as a tamburah player.[92] And the further information has been furnished in a footnote that according to Maasir-i-Rahimi "Muhammad Mumin, alias Hafizak, a tambura-player" was one of the musicians in the service of Khan Khanan.[93]

The tomb of Ustad, along with the tomb of Shagird was originally placed in a garden now destroyed. One gateway and a structure in the garden is still in existence. General Cunningham noticed some trees in the garden during his visit in 1879 A.D.[94] These trees were extant when the present scholar visited the tomb in 1979 A.D.

In his Memoirs, Jahangir refers to a grant of Rs 20,000, made by his father Akbar, for building an embankment and a waterfall at Nakodar.[95] Jahangir himself ordered Muiz-ul-Mulk, the jagirdar of Nakodar, to erect a building and to lay out a garden on one side of this embankment.[96] Most probably, the reference is to the garden mentioned above.

Tomb at Nurdin (District Amritsar)

The tomb stands to the west of the village (Plate 54).

The building is an octagon of four large and four small sides, measuring 8.2 m. and 3.1 m. respectively (Fig. XXXI). Each cardinal side of the building has a recess, covered with a pointed arch. Contained in each recess is one, almost flat-headed archway. All archways, but for the northern one, have been bricked up. There is a ventilator, filled with simple jali-work above each of the entrances. Each diagonal side of the tomb has two storeys of semi-octagonal recesses. On either side of the recesses in each face, is a vertical row of sunken panels.

Two flights of stairs from its northern and the southern sides each, communicate with the upper storey corner recesses. But only one of these staircases reaches the roof of the building where it is covered with a pavilion, as is seen in the tomb at Sultanpur Lodi. The parapet of the building is 7.5 m. high.

From the roof of the tomb rises a two metre high drum, supporting the outer shell of the double dome, surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding, without a finial.

The interior of the tomb is a square of 5.6 m. side. Its walls have semi-octagonal recesses, one on each side of each entrance. Each corner of the room has an arch which supports the domical ceiling of the room.

The whole of the building bore a very fine cover of plaster. Some portions still have marble-like finish. In sections which are partially peeled off, the plaster shows three layers: the lowermost coarse and textured with chisel-like marks, the second a little finer and the finest one at the top.

Stalactites appear on the soffits of the arched recesses on the interior and the exterior. They form a pattern of prisms developing into stars. Traces of some painted decorations, executed in Indian red, dark green and yellow ochre are visible on the drum and the pavilion covering the staircase on the roof. The floor of the recess on the southern side is paved with painted glazed tiles. But the work is of quite a later date.

There is no grave inside the tomb, at present. But a marble tombstone lies outside the tomb. Perhaps, this tombstone, originally covered the grave inside the tomb.

The tomb bears no inscription to tell the date of its erection but tradition says that it was built for Nurdin who is said to have erected a sarai at this palce and given his name to the village. [97]

The present scholar came across a reference to Nurdin and his son in the Mahan-Kosh.[98] It records that the fifth Sikh Guru Arjun Dev purchased the land of the villages Palasoor and Khara for Rs 157,000 and got a tank dug there in 1590 A.D. Six years later, in 1596 A.D., the Guru founded the town of Tarn Taran there. Bricks were prepared for making the tank pucca and for erecting a Gurudwara. But Amiruddin, son of Nurdin, took away the bricks by force and appropriated them to build a sarai and his residence etc. According to this source, the builder of the sarai was not Nurdin, but his son Amiruddin. Probabay, he also built the tomb either for his father or for himself.

Stylistically, the tomb approximates the tomb of the Ustad at Nakodar and the undated tomb at Sultanpur Lodi. The former tomb was erected in 1612 A.D. The tomb at Nurdin can also be dated roughly about the same period.

Tomb of Ustad at Sirhind (District Patiala)

The tomb is situated about two kilometre west of the railway station, Fateh Garh Saheb (Plate 55).[99]

The structure occupies the middle of a brick platform, 39.3 m. square and 2.5 m. high. Besides adding to the effect of the edifice, this platform accommodates the crypt enshrining the real graves.

The tomb itself measures 23.8 m. square and soars to an imposing height of 21.0 m. above platform. In plan, the structure comprises a central room, 8.5 m. square, faced on all the four sides with a 7.0 m. broad and 5.2 m. deep porch (Fig. XXXII). Each corner of the tomb has a double storeyed room, 3.9 m. square. These corner rooms and porches open into one another forming a type of circumambulatory around the central room. It was , perhaps, intended for the same purpose as the ritual of circumambulation was not uncommon among the Muslims.

Two flights of stairs in the southern porch lead to the rooms on the upper storey (Fig. XXXIII). Each flight serves two rooms. Again, two flights of stairs, threfrom, communicate to the roof of the tomb.

All the four facades of the tomb are substantially alike in elevation. Each facade is dominated by a 9.0 m. high, semi-domed iwan. The iwan is relieved on either side by two storeys of similar but smaller recesses. Each corner of the tomb is adorned with a cupola. The one on the northeast corner crumbled long ago. Although, these cupolas give a certain lightness to the structure, their size is far too small. Sitting on a slightly sloping circular drum, the large central dome is 13.2 m. in diametre. It terminates not in a pinnacle but in a chhatri -

an appropriate and elegant summit to the whole edifice. The present scholar has come across this type of finial for a dome in two other tombs - the tomb of Mubarak Sayyid (c. 1434 A.D.) and the tomb of Poti (c. 1500 A.D.), both in Delhi. H. Goetz mentions a similar finial on the tomb of Fateh Jang at Alwar (1547 A.D.) also.[100]

The surviving traces show that, in its pristine condition, the whole building was plastered. The drum and the dome show the same still but the plaster has completely come off from the walls of the tomb.

The central room enshrines four graves, more or less damaged. The tomb bears no inscription.

Cunningham places its construction in the fifteenth century[101] and Goetz in the beginning years of the Mughal rule in India, under Babur.[102] But the well-developed double dome and semi-domed _iwan_ of the tomb do not allow it to be placed before the tomb of Humayun (1565 A.D.) because in this tomb at Delhi, double dome appeared in a ripe form for the first time in India.[103]

General Cunningham visited Sirhind in 1863-64 A.D. At that time, a tradition attributed the tomb of Ustad to some Sayyid Khan Pathan.[104] There are several references in medieval chronicles to one Said Khan Chaghtai who lived during the reigns of Akbar and that of Jahangir. From 1578 to 1585 A.D., he served as the governor of the Punjab.[105] The date of his death is not known. In the contemporary chronicles, however, the last reference to his being alive appeared in May, 1612 in the _Memoirs_ of emperor Jahangir.[106] After Said Khan's death, he was buried in " the garden at Sirhind."[107] Most probably, one and the same

person is the Sayyid Khan Pathan of the lore and Said Khan of h story. His son Beglar Khan (original name Saadullah) served under Shah Jahan and died in 1630 A.D.[108] His body was interred at Sirhind in his father's tomb.[109] It implies that the tomb of his father Said Khan, already existed at Sirhind. Therefore, the tomb of Ustad or that of Said Khan, seems to have been built during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Tomb of Shagird at Sirhind (District Patiala)

This tomb stands quite near the tomb of Ustad (Plate 56).[110]

It is quite similar to the preceding tomb in plan as well as in elevation (Fig. XXXIV). But it shows a definite refinement of proportions than those of the tomb of Ustad. The tomb covers a slightly smaller area as it measures 21.5 m. square outside. Formerly, it stood on a 44.0 m. by 43.7 m. and 3.15 m. high platform, the sides and corners of which have partially crumbled. Here, the square coner cupolas are larger in size, each measuring 4.26 m. square. But they are in better proportion with the central dome than those in the tomb of Ustad. The domes of the cupolas are also double. Above all hangs a double dome, rising above an octagonal drum. Each side of this drum is pierced by an arched recess, the alternate sides having entrances leading into the dome. The finial that once surmounted the dome is missing at present.

Instead of two flights of stairs as are seen in the tomb of Ustad, there are four in this one, one leading from each porch (Fig. XXXV). Each flight serves one upper room wherefrom one more flight of steps approaches the top of the tomb.

The interior of the tomb bears traces of painted decorations.

Mostly geometrical in design, these decorations were executed in a palette in which viridian and Indian red dominated. But the most interesting and informative are the painted panels in the porches.[111] These paintings are badly obliterated. The plastered semi-domed soffits of the porches are carved in low relief in the form of shallow patterns.

The tomb bears no inscription. Goetz assigns it to the early years of the Mughal rule in India, under Babur or Humayun.[112] But a clear evidence about the date of its construction is provided by its decoration. The paintings in the porches depict cypress and flowering trees. The flowering tree motif does not appear in Mughal painting or architecture until the year 1619 A.D.[113] Nor is the cypress motif depicted in the architectural decoration before Jahangir's reign. The trees in the paintings on the tomb under study, are shown complete to the mounds of earth out of which they spring. The motif appears in bas-relief on the dados of the Taj Mahal (1632-54 A.D.)[114] and executed in glazed tiles on the Chini-ka-Rauza, Agra (1639 A.D.)[115] It is also carved on the dados of buildings surrounding the Taj and later in other buildings erected by Shah Jahan in the forts at Agra and Delhi.[116] Hence, the paintings on the tomb of Shagird were executed either contemporaneously or after the completion of the above buildings. And if the decoration of the tomb of Shagird is contemporaneous with the erection of the building as it most probably is, this tomb was built during the reign of Shah Jahan or later.

<u>Tomb of Jamal Khan at Ropar</u>

The tomb is situated to the west of the town (Plate 57).

The building elevated on a square platform of 31.0 m. side, is square both from outside and inside. Its slightly sloping walls rise to a height of 10.8 m. On the exterior, each side measures 19.6 m. The greater part of each facade is occupied by a 7.2 m. broad and 5.1 m. deep semi-domed recess. The side walls of each recess are pierced with one entrance each, giving access to a corner room. These recesses and the corner rooms form a kind of circumambulatory around the tomb chamber. One archway in the facing wall of each recess opens into the central room, measuring 7.6 m. square. The room is lighted by one ventilator on each side. There is no tombstone in the chamber at present though its place has been marked out.

Two flights of steps from the eastern side approach the middle storey, comprising four corner rooms and a gallery joining them. From this floor, two flights of steps from the western side reach the roof of the tomb.

The building is covered with a double dome. The outer shell of the dome rises on an octagonal drum of 5.0 m. side and having slightly sloping walls. The lower shell of the dome, 13.1 m. high from the floor, is broken in the centre. It is appropriated to the square base by erecting an arch in each corner of the room below.

The tomb was richly decorated. The soffits of the recesses bore moulded stalactites, outlined in white against a chocolate field, traces of which are extant. The under-surface of the dome is elegantly decorated with eight painted medallions. The soffits of the corner arches also bear painted designs. Flowering plants, vase and flowers and flying birds are the main motifs. The colours

used are deep green and Indian red.

An old well is also extant near the tomb.

The tomb has no inscription. The name of one Jamal Khan is traditionally associated with it. It is not known who he was. But for the absence of the corner pavilions at parapet, the tomb under study bears close resemblance to the so-called tombs of Ustad and Shagird at Sirhind. Hence, it may also be contemporaneous with them.

The lower walls of the tomb are crumbling fast. Three of its entrances have been walled up. Some trees have taken root in the crevices of the dome which would tear it into pieces within years. Half of the building is now used to store fodder for animals and dung-cakes and in the other half local people ease themselves.

<u>Tomb of Alawal Khan at Bahlolpur (District Ludhiana)</u>

The tomb stands to the southeast of the village (Plate58).[117] It is in a first rate condition. To a large extent, it resembles the tomb of Hussain Khan in the same village.

The building is a regular octagon of 6.4 m. side and rises to a height of 9.05 m. upto parapet. Each face of the octagon is treated with two-storey recessions, the rectangular ones on the cardinal sides and semi-octagonal on the others. There is a vertical row of sunken panels on either side of the recesses. The interior of the tomb measures 7.4 m. square. It is entered through one arch on each side which pierce the rectangular recesses on the exterior. Two ventilators on each side provide it with ample light. The walls of the interior are relieved with sunken panels. The corners of the square chamber are cut

off by squinches.

Two graves are enshrined in the tomb.

The intermediate gallery of the tomb of Hussain Khan, absent in the tomb of Bahadur Khan, reappears here and is approached by two flights of stairs in the northern and the southern walls. Again two flights of steps communicate with the roof of the tomb where each is covered with a small structure. Here rises a 2.3 m. high, sixteen-sided drum of 1.8 m. side having slightly tapering walls. Above this drum, rises the outer shell of the double dome which crowns the tomb. The space in-between the two shells of the dome can be entered through four apertures in the drum. Contrary to Rodgers' statement,[118] there is enough space between the two shells of the dome. The curve of the outer shell is semi-circular. It is surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding, the upper part of which is partially broken.

In its pristine condition, the building was covered with a layer of plaster, both inside and outside. Traces of painted decoration are still visible on the parapet of the tomb, the top of the drum and the top of the structures covering the staircases. The colours are limited to green and Indian red.

Traditionally, the tomb is believed to have been built during the reign of Shah Jahan and Alawal Khan is referred to as one of the <u>Subadars</u> of Deccan.[119] The present scholar, however, did not come across any reference to the person of the name in medieval chronicles. Alawal Khan might have been a descendant of the other Khans of the village.

<u>Tomb of Muqarrab Khan at Panipat (District Karnal)</u>

The tomb is situated in the Dargah of Bu Ali Qalander, in the heart of the town (Plate 59).

The burial chamber, enshrining five graves, is in the form of a rectangular pillared pavilion, measuring 8.8 m. by 6.6 m. outside and 6.8 m. by 4.6 m. inside (Fig. XXXVI). The interstices between the pillars but for one forming the entrance, are filled with beautiful screens in graceful geometrical tracery. The light pouring in is softened by these grilles. This chamber is surrounded with a 3.0 m. broad verandah, supported on pillars, carrying heavy brackets. Each pillar used in this tomb measures 0.5 m. square at the base.

The tomb chamber is covered with a rectangular dome, surmounted with a sheath of lotus petals and three finials. This shape of dome had already appeared in the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daula at Agra, built by his daughter Nur Jahan between 1622 and 1626 A.D. Within the region under study, the present scholar came across three more examples of the domes of this shape, namely - the so-called tomb of Sheikh Chilli's wife at Thanesar (to be described later) and two small mosques near Taoree (Distict Faridabad). The ceiling of the verandah is domical in corners but flat in the other parts. Stalactites are carved on the domical sections of the ceiling.

Wide eaves rotate on all sides of the tomb.

An inscription on the tomb reads:[120]

" <u>Maqbara wazir-i-Jahangir Nawab Muqarrab Khan Kairanavi. 1053 Hijri</u>."

Translation: " The tomb of wazir-i-Jahangir Nawab Muqarrab Khan Kairanavi. 1053 A.H." (the year began the 12th March, 1643)

Maathir-ul-Umara supplies a detailed account of Muqarrab Khan.[121] A summary of the account follows:

His real name was Sheikh Hasan or Hassu. He was the son of Hakim Sheikh Phaniya.[122] Both the father and the son were renowned surgeons. They succeeded in curing a bad wound of Akbar which the emperor had received from a buck at a deer fight, on 28th July, 1596.[123]

Sheikh Hasan rose to great honours under Jahangir. He received the title of Muqarrab Khan and was made a commander of 5000 and governor of Gujarat. However, he could not perform his work satisfactorily and was called back. In the 13th year of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed the governor of Bihar and three years later, the governor of the province of Agra. In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign, on account of old age, he was pensioned off and given the pargana of Kirana (now in U.P.), his birth place as jagir. He died at the age of ninety. As he was the custodian of the tomb of Bu Ali at Panipat, he made his tomb there.

At Kirana, he built many edifices, and laid out a beautiful walled garden with an immense tank. For this garden, he obtained excellent fruit trees from all parts of India. Kirana mangoes have since been famous in Delhi.

His son, Rizqullah Khan was also a physician and surgeon. According to an inscription on the tomb of Bu Ali Qalander, he erected the portico of the tomb in 1071 A.H. (the year began the 27th August, 1660).[124]

His adopted son named Saadullah alias Masiha-i-Kairanavi was a poet. He composed an epic in Persian based on the story of Ramayana.

Tomb of Sheikh Chilli at Thanesar (District Kurukshetra)

This tomb is one of the most striking monuments in north India. It stands picturesquely to the west of the north end of the main bazar of the town. The tomb can be seen from afar by reason of its height (Plate 60). On this site there is said to have been a temple of Siva which was rased to the ground by the Muhammadans.[125]

The white marble building of the tomb stands on an octagonal platform, each side measuring 10.3 m. This platform was once surrounded with post and trellis work.[126] This work was 52 cm. high and the posts which supported it were 66 cm. high and 12.7 cm. square.[127] This platform is situated in the midst of an enclosure measuring 53.0 m. square which was once paved with white marble.[128] This enclosure rises 12.5 m. above the level of the plain. Its walls are inbuilt with twelve cupolas, each of which was originally decorated with glazed tiles. But much of the tile work has come off. The traces of blue, purple and green tiles are still to be found on some of these.

The tomb itself is octagonal, each side being 5.4 m. on the exterior and 3.5 m. on the interior. Each face of the tomb has a rectangular recess covered with a cusped arch and adorned with two marble screens (Plate 61). Ornamental battlements rise above the projected eaves. The whole is crowned with a pear-shaped dome, resting on a circular neck and surrounded by eight elegant pinnacles, one at each angle. The soffit of the dome is decorated with painted designs.

Two graves occupy the interior but they are not the true sarcophagi; these can be seen in a vault below the tomb.

Harmonious proportions combined with fine workmanship characterise the building.

In the western wall of the enclosure is another structure, said to be the tomb of Sheikh Chilli's wife. It also stands on a marble platform and is covered with an elongated dome of the same material, like that of the tomb of Muqarrab Khan at Panipat. Below the parapet, there are deep eaves. The tomb measures 9.2 m. by 6.7 m. outside and 6.7 m. by 4.1 m. inside. Two graves occupy the interior.

The exterior sandstone walls of the tomb are divided into panels, each having a simple design in it carved in bas-relief. The vase and flowers is the main motif(Plate 62).

It is not known for certain who Sheikh Chilli was. Chilli is a title conferred upon one who frequently performs <u>chillas</u>, i.e., a forty days' penance without eating or drinking anything. There is dissension regarding his real name. Some call him Abdur Rahim, some Abdul Karim[129] and others Abdul Razzak.[130] He is believed to have been born at Bannur, a small town in the district of Patiala.[131] A book entitled ' Lives of the Walis' or Muhammadan saints is attributed to his pen.[132] David Ross refers to him as " the author of some of the most popular moral tales, allegories and ballads."[133]

There is no inscription on the tomb, but on the basis of its pear-shaped dome and flowered marble lattice, Cunningham ascribes it to the days of Dara Shikoh to whom Sheikh Chilli is said to have been a spiritual adviser, about 1650 A.D.[134]

An inscription on the gateway of the complex tells us that Captain Larkins, Deputy Commissioner, got it repaired in 1271 A.H. or 1854 A.D.

The main tomb was turned into a Gurudwara by some Sikhs.[135] But the British rulers reinstated the tombstones in it.[136] It was in ruins when William Barr saw it in 1839 A.D.[137] Still he inferred that in its pristine condition " it was deficient neither in beauty nor elegance." Later on, it was restored by the department of the Archeological Survey of India.[138]

Tomb of Shagird at Nakodar (District Jalandhar)

Close to the tomb of Ustad at Nakodar, is the tomb popularly known as that of Shagird (Plate 63).

This tomb reverses the plan of the former as it is square from outside and octagonal from inside. The building measures 16.2 m. square having an octagonal turret at each corner. Each of its four faces has a semi-octagonal recess, covered with a pointed arch and pierced by a doorway. But for the southern side, the other three doorways are filled with terracotta lattices.

The interior of the tomb is an octagon of 4.2 m. side. The diagonal sides of the octagon have recesses to provide larger space in the room which enshrines six sarcophagi. The one made of chololate-coloured marble, inlaid with white marble inscriptions is very beautiful.

A pear-shaped dome, in vogue during the period of Shah Jahan and later, springing from a cylindrical neck, roofs the building. It is surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding and a finial. The central dome is surrounded with four cupolas, each surmounting a corner turret. Only one flight of steps, to the right hand side of the entrance approaches the roof of the tomb where it opens under the southeast corner cupola.

The tomb rests in the midst of a 32.5 m. square and 2.4 m. high platform, panelled on all sides with recesses. On each side a double flight of steps, built in the platform, gives access to the tomb.

The chief glory of the tomb is its lavish glazed tile decoration. Here, horror vacuii seems to have found adequate vent. The facades of the tomb are divided into panels, framed with simulated brickwork. A mosaic executed in yellow, green, dark blue, purple and white tiles, exhibiting a vase and flowers fills each long panel (Plate 64). The panels on the turrets have yellow background whereas the others have white. Floral arabesques coil over the spandrels. Small panels are filled with geometrical patterns or mosaics depicting plates of fruits.

The space inbetween the panels is adorned with diaper patterns. The battlements, corner cupolas, base and upper portion of the dome also bear traces of glazed tiles.

The interior of the tomb is covered with very fine plaster. Arches and panels have red painted borders. A long Quranic inscription, in white against a dark green background, runs below the parapet of the room. The soffit of the dome is adorned with a medallion painted in green and Indian red colours.

An inscription on the northern facade of the tomb gives the date of its building and the name of the person for whom it was built. Its text has been translated as follows:[139]

"Tomb of the most contemptible of the worshippers of God, the humble slave, Haji Jamal, 1067 A.H." (the year began the 10th October, 1656).

The present scholar could not trace any other information about Haji Jamal.

There is another inscription on the southern facade. It reads: " Karkhana Muhammad... 1320 Hijri chinigar, Jalandhar Shehar." The text can be translated as follows: " The factory of Muhammad... 1320 A.H. glazed tile makers, Jalandhar city." The year mentioned in the inscription began the 10th April, 1902. Obviously, the said factory at Jalandhar supplied tiles for the repair of the tomb. The later tiles are multi-coloured whereas in original decoration, a separate piece of tile was used for each colour.

Adjoining the eastern wall of the tomb, on the platform is an ugly framework surrounding a grave.

Tomb at Sarai Amanat Khan (District Amritsar)

The tomb stands to the south of the village, across the road (Plate 65).

The building covers an area measuring 13.3 m. by 12.5 m. (Fig. XXXVII). The mortuary room, occupied by three graves, is a 3.9 m. square, having a 0.95 m. deep recess on its eastern and western side. This room has a square chamber of 2.1 m. side at each corner (the one in the northwest corner measures only 2.1 m. by 1.6 m. as the northern wall has a flight of steps approaching the roof) and oblong porches measuring 5.8 m. by 2.6 m. on the northern and the southern sides and 5.8 m. by 2.2 m. on the remaining sides. All the corner chambers and porches are inter-connected, forming a circumambulatory. The entrance to the building is through five archways on each side, three opening in the porches and one in each corner room.

A dome emerging from a circular drum of slightly sloping walls covers the nucleus of the tomb but the porches and corner chambers had almost flat ceilings which have crumbled. A concave moulding separates the dome from the drum. At each corner of the

building was planted a circular minaret, still extant on the southwest corner. A deep *chhajja* carried on corbelled brackets rums round the building.

The walls of the building are relieved with sunken panels having coloured borders. The traces of painted flowers are still visible on the minaret and the drum of the dome.

The tomb is elevated on a platform having a tank measuring 3.9 m. by 2.3 m. on the northern side. There is a small well to the east of the tomb.

The tomb has no inscription.

Treditionally, Amanat Khan, the builder of the nearby sarai and baoli is believed to have been interred in the tomb. But if the Amanat Khan was the man whose real name was Muinuddin Ahmad (died 1684 A.D.), son of Mirak Hussain, then he can not be the man buried in the tomb. Because, according to the *Maathir-ul-Umara*, his body was buried in the Dargah of Shah Nur Hamami at Aurangabad.[140] His son Mir Hussain was also honoured with the title of Amanat Khan.[141] He died in 1111 A.H. (the year began the 19th June, 1699) and lies interred at Surat, near the city wall.[142] Therefore, either none of the above Amanat Khans was the builder of the sarai or the person buried in the tomb is somebody else.

The high drum[143] and the shape of the dome indicate a date of its erection not earlier than the later half of the seventeenth century.

Tomb of Allah Yar Khan at Illabas (District Gurgaon)

Hidden in a wild growth of acacia trees, the tomb of Allah Yar Khan stands on a podium, near a large tank (Plate 66).

The building measures a square of 12.5 m. side. The arrangement of the rooms in the tomb is quite similar to that of the tomb at

Sarai Amanat Khan. But each corner of this building is reinforced by an octagonal turret, surmounted with a cupola as seen in the tomb of Shagird at Nakodar. The cupola on the north-western turret has crumbled.

Each facade of the tomb is pierced by five arches, all opening into a 2.0 m. broad verandah forming a circumambulatory. The central portions of the verandah are covered with wagon-vault ceilings. From this verandah, one archway from each side, opens into the burial chamber, measuring 5.0 m. square. Originally, but for the southern arch, the rest three were filled with simple jali-work, the traces of which are still to be found there. The walls of the room are provided with alcoves.

In this tomb, four types of arches have been used for openings i.e., pointed, cusped, circular and almost flat-headed.

The building is crowned with a bulbous dome.

It has no stairs leading to the roof.

The building is made of slate-rubble, easily available from Aravali range nearby. The thick coat of plaster that once covered the coarse rubble walls, has come off, exposing the crude skeleton beneath it. But for some shallow stalactites on the soffits of the central arches of each facade and some sunken panels, the building has no other decoration.

No grave is extant in the tomb.

The tomb bears no inscription. According to Rodgers, the tomb was built in the memory of Allah Yar Khan, Mansabdar.[144] In the Maathir-ul-Umara, two mansabdars of the name are mentioned. The first Allah Yar Khan was the son of one Iftikhar Khan Turkman.[145] He served during the reigns of Jahangir and Sahh Jahan.[146]

and died in Bengal in the beginning of 1060 A.H.[147] (the year began the 25th December, 1649).

The second Allah Yar Khan was a servant of Aurangzeb since the days of his princehood.[148] He distinguished himself in Aurangzeb's first battle against Dara Shikoh.[149] In the fifth year of Aurangzeb's reign, he was appointed the darogha of ghusalkhana or the private audience room and was given a flag.[150] He died in 1073 A.H.[151] (the year began the 6th August, 1662).

The person interred in the tomb at Illabas might have been one of the said Khans.

Tomb of Fateh Ali Shah at Nurmahal (District Jalandhar)

The tomb is situated to the north of the sarai (Plate 67).

It is a 4.8 m. square building having slightly sloping walls. Each face of the building was pierced with a 1.2 m. broad arch, contained in a wider recess. Three of the arches have been bricked up now and the entrance is only through the southern wall.

Inside, the tomb measures 3.2 m. square. At present, it has no grave. One arch thrown across each corner converts the square of the room into an octagon which supports the circular rim of the pear-shaped dome. The dome is crowned with an inverted lotus moulding. Each corner of the tomb was originally engaged to a minaret, one of which is still in existence.

At present, the tomb is known by the name of Saheb Teli ka Maqbara, evidently a corruption of Shah Fateh Ali ka Maqbara. It is not known who Shah Fateh Ali was.

The tomb does not bear any inscription. Rodgers gives the date of its erection as 1071 A.H.[152] (the year began the 27th August, 1660). The basis of his dating is not known.

<u>Tomb of Sayyid Chirag at Palwal (District Faridabad)</u>

The tomb stands in the heart of the town (Plate 68).

It is a square structure of 6.2 m. side, standing on a high platform. Each side of the tomb has an arched recess whose contours are carved in a continuous cork-screw pattern. Each recess contains a rectangular opening. But for the southern entrance, the other three were screened with stone-lattices, carved with a design of hexagons. The northern and the western archways still retain their lattices.

Each corner of the tomb is marked by a minaret, the one on the northeast corner is not extant now. The walls of the tomb are 1.1 m. thick. The interior of the tomb, measuring 4.0 m. square, enshrines only one grave. The real grave, however, is in the crypt below.

The building is covered with a slightly bulbous dome, surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding. The finial is not extant.

The whole building is clad in a veneer of red sandstone. The walls are divided into sunken panels, having some simple carvings depicting a vine-jar containing petals.

A Persian inscription, in <u>nastaliq</u> characters, is carved above the entrance. It appears that the work on the tomb was stopped abruptly as the inscription and some of the carvings are incomplete. Also the dome could not be fully covered with red sandstone. Most probably, the work stopped at the death of its builder. The inscription recording the date of erection of the tomb in the form of a chronogram as well as numerals reads:[153]

" Sayyid Chirag, the inhabitant of Medinah, none appeared

who was like him among the possessors of the secret. When I asked the wisdom for its date, it said, ' The mausoleum became the redresser of grief.' Date 28th Dhu'l Hijjah, year 1072." (3rd August, 1662).

A tradition, recorded by J.D. Beglar states that " the tomb was built by the faqir during his lifetime, with stones obtained by begging one out of each cart-load that passed that way from the quarries to Delhi, when Shah Jahan's citadel and the buildings of the Delhi Shahjahanabad were in course of construction."[154] But the building of Shahjahanabad was already completed by 1648 A.D. If the above tradition had been true, the saint had fourteen years to complete his tomb, time enough for the erection of such a small building. But the incomplete work of the tomb poses a question mark to the truth of the above statement.

<u>Tomb of Saif Khan at Bahadurgarh (District Patiala)</u>

To the south of the fort at Bahadurgarh is a graveyard, enclosed by a wall. Within this enclosure, there are three tombs besides a large number of graves.

The most important of the three tombs is that of Nawab Saif Khan, a nobleman of the reign of Aurangzeb and the founder of the nearby fort and mosque (Plate 69). He was the second son of Tarbiat Khan, a <u>bakshi</u> of Shah Jahan's reign.[155] Saif Khan had a long but chequered career of royal service. At different times, he was appointed the governor of Kashmir, Delhi, Multan, Bihar and Allahabad.[156] Besides being an administrator, he was also very skilful in music and melody and composed a treatise named ' Rag Darpan'.[157] He died in 1095 A.H. (the year began

the 10th December, 1683) in Allahabad but he was buried at Bahadurgarh,[158] then known as Saifabad.[159]

The tomb is elevated on a 16.8 m. square and 2.0 m. high platform with sides relieved with decorative panels of cusped arches. A flight of steps on the eastern side gives access to the tomb. It measures 6.5 m. by 5.8 m. from outside and 4.1 m. by 3.7 m. from inside. The entrance is through the southern side. The building is covered with a double dome, raised on pendentives. Each corner of the building is marked with a kiosk. Built in the platform of the tomb is the actual burial vault, comprising a chamber, measuring 4.1 m. by 2.9 m., approached through a 1.6 m. broad and 6.3 m. long passage on the southern side. Whereas the tomb enshrines one grave, the sarcophagus in the crypt is not extant now.

The whole decoration of the tomb appears to be of a later date.

The nearby tomb is said to be that of the son of Saif Khan. It measures 5.6 m. square from outside and 3.6 m. square from inside. The original entrance to the tomb used to be in its southern wall but it is now entered through the eastern wall. Only one grave occupies the interior. The domical vault of the tomb is raised on pendentives. The soffit of the dome bears some traces of painted decoration. On the exterior, the building is covered by a pear-shaped dome, resting on an octagonal drum and surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding. Each corner of the tomb is marked by a minaret.

Not far away is the so-called tomb of the wives of Saif Khan. It is 7.1 m. square outside and 4.5 m. square inside. Its walls

are 1.3 m. thick. Each face of the building has a 2.2 m. broad and 0.6 m. deep recess. The original entrance was on the southern side but now it is in the western wall. The building is covered with a low vault. It appears to be incomplete as there is no dome on the exterior.

<u>Tomb of Daud Khan at Bahlolpur (District Ludhiana)</u>

The tomb stands to the north of that of Alawal Khan (Plate 70). Its walls and dome have developed wide cracks. At present, it is being used for the storage of farm produce by a local peasant.

Whereas all the other tombs at the village are octagonal, this tomb is square in shape. Each of its sides measures 8.8 m. from outside and 5.0 m. inside. The walls of the tomb are 1.8 m. thick. Each wall has a 4.0 m. broad and one metre deep recess, covered by a cusped arch. An almost flat-headed arch pierces each recess. But for the northern entrance, all others have been bricked up. On either side of each arch are some sunken panels.

The building is covered with a square dome, surmounted by an elongated, inverted lotus moulding. The corners of the building and sides of the arches are softened with pilasters. A miniature replica of the tomb is planted at each corner of the building. Just below the parapet, eaves encircle the tomb. It is slightly curved in the middle on each side - a feature which appeared during the reign of Shah Jahan and continued thereafter.

The whole building is covered with plaster. Some traces of a painted design are still visible on the soffit of the dome. The pot and flowers motif, painted in red, can be seen on the exterior of the building.

The tombstone has been removed from the tomb.

The building has no inscription. Traditionally, Daud Khan is said to have been a <u>rasaldar</u> during Shah Jahan's period.[160]

Nothing else is known about this person. But as judged from the wide span and almost flat curve of the arches, the tomb seems to have come up about the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the next one.

Tomb of Daula Khan at Mehm (District Rohtak)

The tomb stands on a mound, earlier known as the Garhi of Afghans, on the road to Hansi. The building is in a ruinous condition and is being used for storing dung-cakes.

It is a brick structure raised on kankar foundations. Each facade of the tomb is 8.8 m. long and is pierced by three cusped arches. The building comprises a tomb chamber, 3.6 m. square , surrounded with a 1.3 m. broad, barrel-vaulted verandah. The room is covered with a pear-shaped dome, supported on a circular drum. A square kiosk is planted at each corner of the building.

An inscription stone, measuring 81 cm. by 31 cm. is fixed over the central arch on the eastern facade (Plate 71). The text comprises four lines, the English translation of which runs thus:[161]

" In the name etc. There is no God etc. The slave of the court of the Merciful, Daula Khan, Muhammadi Murid of Gilan - I knew that the four friends (the khalifas) are over this wholly perishable world - found grace in his lifetime to erect the burial place with the favour of the Lord, during the reign of Aurangzeb Badshah, the shadow of God. On the 14th of the month Ramzan, the blessed A.H. 1114. Through the effort of the architect Ustad Abu valad Tayyib."

The date mentioned in the inscription corresponds to 21st

January, 1703. But the style of the building does not appear to be that old. Most probably, the original building which bore the inscription vanished and the present structure was erected at its place, at quite a later date and the inscription stone fixed therein.

Tomb at Morinda (District Ropar)

Strangely enough, even the existence of this tomb has not hitherto been mentioned in any published work, including Rodgers' Revised List...

The tomb is situated near the railway line (Plate 72). It stands on a platform which was originally 2.0 m. high. But the erosion of land around it has laid bare 1.5 m. of its foundation also, making it 3.5 m. high. Only the upper two metre wall of the platform is plastered. The original steps to the platform also start from a height of 1.5 m. The rest of the steps are quite modern.

The tomb is a 13.4 m. square in plan but its angles have been so chamfered as to give it an octagonal configuration and reducing the sides to a length of 9.2 m. (Fig. XXXVIII). Each diagonal side measures 3.2 m. Each of the four large faces is recessed by a 5.8 m. broad and 0.9 m. deep arch. A 1.7 m. broad arch and a ventilator above, pierce each of the four recesses. But for the western one, all other entrances have been bricked up now.

The interior of the tomb is a square of 8.2 m. side. Again, the angles are chamfered (each small side measures 0.9 m.). Two flights of steps in the northeast corner approach the roof of the building. But these steps start from a very high level

without having any access from the floor of the tomb.

The walls of the tomb soar to a height of 9.2 m. above its platform. There is no kiosk or minaret at any angle. In the centre rises an octagonal drum of 4.0 m. side from which emerges a low dome. The sides of the drum are pierced to form ventilators.

At present, the building has no tombstone. Perhaps, it has a crypt built in the plinth. It is indicated by a now bricked up entrance arch in the southern wall of the platform.

The building bears no decoration except some sunken panels on diagonal faces.

The tomb bears no inscription. It is associated neither with any name nor with any tradition. The style of the building also does not help fix its chronology.

An old man is inhabiting it at present.

FOOTNOTES

1. R. Nath, The Immortal Taj Mahal, Bombay, 1972, p.10. The sstupa is the only funreal structure of the ancient Hindus, but it is originally a funreal mound. (Sir John Marshall, A Guide to Sanchi, Calcutta, 1918, p. 30.)

2. R. Nath, loc. cit.

3. T.P. Hughs, A Dictionary of Islam, London, 1885, pp. 46, 48, 150 & 635.

4. According to Alexander Cunningham, a Bagdadi octagon is constructed as follows:

"Each side of the square is divided into four, and the points being joined, the enclosed area is divided into sixteen squares of which the four middle ones form the interior of the building. Then a diagonal drawn across each of the corner squares forms the shorter side of the octagon, while each longer face is left equal to the one half of the side of the square." (Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, Rep. 1970, p. 66.)

5. Charles J. Rodgers, Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab, Lahore, 1891, p.66.

6. A crypt is an underground mortuary chamber. It was customary among the Muslims to build the real graves in a crypt whereas those in the tomb above were duplicate ones.

7. Rodgers, loc. cit. &
P. Horn, "Muhammadan Inscriptions from the Suba of Dihli," Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, Delhi, Rep. 1970, pp. 427-28.

8. Ibid.

9. Blochmann gives the date as Ist Ramzan, 943 "Delmerick's Inscriptions from Hissar Firuzah", Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1877), Calcutta, 1877, p. 97.

10. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, tr. H. Blochmann, Delhi, Rep. 1977, p. 530, no. 207.

11. Ibid.

12. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 428.

13. Ibid.

14. Blochmann, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

15. Rodgers, op. cit., p. 67.

16. Kankar is a nodular limestone, a calcareous concrete consisting of carbonate of lime of irregular shaped pieces. It

is generally dug out of the soil. It is very hard and has great binding properties. (David Ross, The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh, Patiala, Rep. 1970, p. 103.)

The author also describes the following method by which the formation of Kankar may be constantly maintained:

"After digging and exhausting a deposit of the substance, the land is levelled and again cultivated. After an interval of time has elapsed, the same land will again yield kankar. The explanation given is as follows. The well water contains carbonate of soda, and as the water containing carbonate of lime percolates the alluvial soil (which contains sulphate of lime), the reaction of carbonate of soda, sulphate of lime, and clay, upon each other, results in the formation of Kankar, while the sulphuric acid has attached itself to the soda, forming the efforescence of sulphate of soda." (Ibid.)

17. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 157.
According to M.N. Deshpande, the date in the inscription is 974 A.H. (the year began the 19th July, 1566) and the name of the person, Aba son of Yazid. [Indian Archaeology (1971-72), New Delhi, 1975, p. 62.]
This inscription has also been translated by H. Blochmann (loc. cit.)

18. Nawab Samsam-ud-daula Shah Nawaz Khan, The Maathir-ul-Umra, Vol. II, tr. H. Beveridge, Patna, n.d., p. 774, f.n. 1.

19. Ibid., p. 775 &
Abul Fazl, op. cit., p. 387.

20. Shah Nawaz Khan, op. cit., p. 774.

21. Ibid., p. 775 &
Abul Fazl, loc. cit.

22. Ibid. & Shah Nawaz Khan, loc. cit.

23. Ibid., p. 776 & Abul Fazl, op. cit., p. 388.

24. Ibid. & Shah Nawaz Khan, loc. cit.
Shah Quli Khan is also credited with building a baoli at Fatehpur Sikri. (S.A.A. Rizvi & V.J.A. Flynn, Fathpur-Sikri, Bombay, 1975, p. 120.)

25. G. Yazdani, " Narnaul and its buildings" Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1907), New Series, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1908, p. 641.

26. Ibid.

27. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, " Haryana Heritage", Marg, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, Bombay, September, 1974, p. 32.
Dr. Anand has not mentioned the source of his information. Most probably, it is the Safarnama of Abdul Latif Abbasi who travelled through the region in 1608 A.D. (N.D. Ahuja," Abdul Latif al Abbasi and his Safarnama", Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference, Eighth Session, Patiala, n.d., p. 74.)

28. A few insignificant outliers of the Aravalli system traverse the districts of Faridabad, Gurgaon and Mohindergarh. In the area lying in proximity to the hills, stone rubble was used as building material.

29. Sri Ram Sharma, A Bibliography of Mughal India, Bombay, n.d., pp.78-79.

30. Ahuja, loc. cit.

31. Anand, loc. cit.

32. Abul Fazl, op. cit., pp. 388-89 & Shah Nawaz Khan, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 703-04.

33. Rodgers, op. cit., p. 84.

34. A medieval traveller Pelsaert describes the method by which the plaster coating of a building was polished to resemble marble. In his own words: " They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum, and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste, rubbing it with well-designed trowels until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard, and shines like albaster, or can even be used as a looking glass." (Jahangir's India, tr. W.H. Moreland, & P. Geyl, Delhi, Rep. 1972, p. 67.)

35. Shah Nawaz Khan, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 732.

36. Ibid., p. 738.

37. Ibid., p. 731.

38. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tabakat-i-Akbari in Elliot & Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. V, Allahabad, 1975, p. 319.

39. Charles J. Rodgers, Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for the year 1888-89, Lahore, 1891, p. 11.

40. Al-Badaoni, Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh, Vol. III, tr. & ed. T. Wolseley Haig, Delhi, Rep. 1973, pp. 5-6.

41. Ibid., p. 5.

42. Ibid., p. 6.

43. G. Yazdani, op. cit., p. 640.

44. Al-Badaoni, op. cit., p. 44.

45. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

46. Ibid., p. 45.

47. <u>Ibid</u>.

48. <u>Ibid</u>.

49. The tomb was declared protected by the Government of India vide notification number 11908 dated 15.4.1920 <u>List of Protected Monuments accepted by the Government of India (corrected unto September, 1928)</u>, Simla, 1928, pp. 2-3.

In order to ensure proper protection and maintenance, agreements were made with the owners of the tomb during the year 1927-28. H. Hargreaves, <u>Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1927-28)</u>, Calcutta, 1931, p. 191.

50. According to Dr. J.S. Grewal," Outsides, at the top of the arches, there were about half a dozen inscriptions in Persian. The clearest of these is a quatrain, probably, in imitation of Umar Khayyam. The sentiment it embodies is very close to the sentiment of Umar Khayyam in some of his quatrains:

"Dauran keh dil-i-tu shad-o-ghamnak kunadd
"Az takhtah-i-'umr naqsh-i-tu napak kunadd
"Khush bash keh tinat tura dast-i-qaza
"Az khak sirisht 'aqibat khak kunadd

"Indeed, time makes you happy or sorrowful until your life is rubbed off the board of existence. Be happy now that you have the boon of life; for the long arm of Fate is always there to remind you that from dust you came and unto dust you will return." ["Inscriptions from Batala", <u>Proceedings, Punjab History Conference</u>, Sixth Session (March 19-20, 1971), Patiala, 1972, p. 59.]

In the same article, Dr. Grewal has made an interesting study of the graffiti on the tomb also. These were inscribed on the walls by some visitors to the tomb. "A few of these are in Devanagari script but the rest are all in Persian.... Most of them bear dates, besides the names and places of the persons who wrote them.... The earliest of these dated graffiti comes from the reign of Akbar himself and...taken together, they cover the reigns of Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and his successors. In fact the practice survived into the Sikh period and continued into the British.

...

...

" The graffiti..., taken together, reveal that this monument to his benevolent piety became a focus of the feelings and sentiments of a considerable number of people.... Some of them have expressed their choicest sentiments in language borrowed from great poets; some of them have made their own modest attempt at self-expression; a few have given vent to their personal or sectarian differences...." (<u>Ibid</u>., pp. 59 & 61.)

51. Waheed Mirza, "Some Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from the East Punjab", <u>Epigraphia Indica (Arabic & Persian Supplement)</u>, (1953-54), Calcutta, n.d., p. 10.

52. <u>Gurdaspur District Gazetteer (1883-84)</u>, Lahore, 1884, p.96.

53. Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulastut Tavarikh, tr. Ranjit Singh Gill, Patiala, 1972, p. 78.

Khwajasarai was "a title for the administrative officer of the harem who maintained its accounts, supplied the stores, fixed duties of the servants but who did not go inside it." (R. Nath, Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture, New Delhi, 1976, p. 120.)

54. Bhandari, loc. cit.

55. The present scholar has gone through the indexes of the Akbar-Nama, Ain-i-Akbari, Muntakhabu't Tavarikh & History of India as told by its own Historians etc.

56. Now the inscription is, perhaps, in the Lahore Museum. The translation of its text, carved in Persian as well as Hindi script, runs as follows:

"In the days of the empire of the slave (of God), His Majesty Jalaluddin Akbar, Badshah-i-Ghazi - May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever (and) his highness in Paradise! - Abe Shamsher Khan, the shiqdar of pargana Rohtak, has laid the foundation of this gateway. In the blessed month Ramzan, anno 973 it has been finished." (P. Horn, op. cit., p. 154.)

57. Neither the tomb nor the tombstone bearing the inscription is traceable now. The translation of the complete inscription reads as follows:

"Shamsher Khan has made with the favour of God the vault over the tomb of Pir Safi-Dil 'A...975 H. is the year." (the year began the 8th July, 1567). (Ibid., p. 146.)

58. Rodgers, Report..., op. cit., p. 37.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 133.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. The complete inscription which measured 48 cm by 38 cm., was translated as follows:

" I testify that there is no God etc. The edifice of this mosque has been built by Miyan Raib, son of Piyara on the tenth of the month of Zilhajj, in the year 989. His commander (was) Miyan Daud." (Ibid., p. 133.)

66. Ibid., pp. 133-34.

67. Ibid., p. 135.

P. Horn gives the following translation of its contents:

" In the time of the king Nuruddin, the tank which has scarcely its like, became a sign of Rai Rayan Rai Durga Mal, for the benefit of the happiness of the people of the world. I asked the mind the date year, the mind spoke to me 'Know it in ghuluw'. (I) the poor hermit Abd as Samad, the son of Makan, who is a master of knowledge. The year was 1036."

68. Rohtak District Gazetteer (1910), Lahore, 1911, p. 45.

69. Rodgers, Revised List...., op. cit., p. 78.

70. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 134.

71. Anand, op. cit., p. 28.

72. P. Horn, op. cit., pp. 135-36.

73. Rodgers' reading of the name as Kalan Khan is not correct. (Revised List...., op. cit., p. 79.)

74. Alexander Cunningham, Book of Indian Eras, Varanasi, 1970, p. 130.

75. Anand, loc. cit.

76. Rodgers wrongly describes it as square building. (Revised List...., op. cit., p. 79.)

77. Ibid., p. 34.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Ludhiana District Gazetteer(1904), Lahore, 1907, p. 227; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Punjab, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1908, p. 435. &
Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, Mahankosh (Punjabi), Patiala, Rep. 1981, p. 827.

87. Ludhiana District Gazetteer, loc. cit.

88. Both the tombs were declared protected by the Government of India vide notification number 4687, dated 19th February, 1919.

List of Protected Monuments....., op. cit., pp. 4-5.

89.Cunningham, Report of tour in the Punjab...., op. cit., pp. 60-61.

90 Ibid., p. 60.

91. Ibid.

92. Abul Fazl, op. cit., p. 682.

93. Ibid.

94. Cunningham, Report of a tour in the Punjab...., op. cit., p. 59.

95. Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Book I, tr. A. Rodgers & H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, pp. 135-36.

96. Ibid., p. 136.

97. Only a mosque and a portion of the western gateway of the sarai is extant.

98. Nabha, op. cit., p. 578.

99. It has been declared protected by the Government of the Punjab.

100. H. Goetz, " The Pathan Tombs at Sirhind", Islamic Culture, Vol. XIII, Hyderabad, July, 1939, p. 316.

101. Alexander Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. II, Varanasi, Rep. 1972, p. 210.

102. Goetz, op. cit., p. 317.

103. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), Bombay, Rep. 1975, p. 91.

104. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Report, op. cit., p. 209.

105. Abul Fazl, Akbar-Nama, Vol. III, tr. H. Beveridge, Delhi, Rep. 1973, pp. 356 & 587.

106. Jahangir, op. cit., p. 223.

107. Shah Nawaz Khan, op. cit., p. 680. & Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, op. cit., p. 352.

108. Shah Nawaz Khan, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 401.

109. Ibid.

110. It has been declared protected by the government of the Punjab.

111. Subhash Parihar," The Tombs of Ustad and Shagird at Sirhind", *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. XXXIX, Nos. 1-4, Calcutta, March-December, 1986, Plate III & IV.

112. Goetz, *loc. cit*.

113. R. Skelton, " A Decorative Motif in Mughal Art", *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. Pralapaditya Pal, Leiden, 1972, p. 150.
The author adds that in about 1618 A.D., Sir Thomas Roe or someone like him had presented Pirre Vallet's *Herbal* to Jahangir. Two years later, the emperor went to Kashmir and immediately fell a victim to flower mania. Thereupon the emperor ordered Mansur to copy flowers in the valley on the lines of the *Herbal* illustrations and that he furthermore immediately inaugurated a new motif in the decorative arts based on Mansur's work. (*Ibid*., p. 152.)

114. John D. Hoag, *Islamic Architecture*, New York, 1977, p. 380 & Satish Grover, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic), Delhi, 1981, Plate 8.13.

115. Gavin Hambly & Wim Swaan, *Cities of Mughal India*. Delhi, 1977, Plate 46.

116. Hoag, *loc. cit*.

117. Of the tombs at Bahlolpur only this tomb has been declared protected by the Government of the Punjab.

118. Rodgers, *Report*..., *op. cit*., p. 37.
The present scholar entered the space for himself. Two persons can easily stand one above the other in this space.

119. *Objects of Antiquarian Interest in Punjab and its Dependencies*, Lahore, 1875, Part III, pp. 8-9. & Rodgers, *Revised List*..., op. cit., p. 48.

120. Subhash Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions in the Punjab, Haryana & Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi, 1985, Plate 33.

121. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit*., Vol. I, pp. 616-17.

122. *Ibid*., p. 616. But Abul Fazl gives the name as Sheikh Bina. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, *op. cit*., p.613.)

123. For an account of the deer fight, see Abul Fazl, *Akbar-Nama*, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 1061-62.

124. The translation of the complete inscription reads as follows:
"This tomb is the place where the light of God's glory and perfection appears; like Jesus, it gave life to the dead. Muqarrab Khan, the Plato of his age, had a son Rizqullah Khan. When Bu Ali (the saint of Panipat) recognised this Bu Ali (i.e., this great doctor), he (Rizqullah), thus honoured, became the Aristotle of his age. He then ordered the erection

of this paradisiac portico, below which each pillar is made of touchstone. I put the thought to the touch, in order to discover the year of the building. When I beheld the God of alchemy, and the year of its erection appeared in the value of the letters, 'the noble Rizqullah Khan' 1071 A.H." (the year began the 27th August, 1660.). H. Blochmann, " On Inscriptions from Sonpat (and Panipat)", <u>Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</u> (1873), Calcutta, 1873, p. 97.

125. David Ross, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 240.

126. Rodgers, <u>Report</u>...., p. 10.

127. <u>Ibid</u>.

128. Cunningham, <u>Archaeological Survey of India Report</u>, op. cit., p. 223.

129. Both of these names are given by Rodgers (<u>Report</u>...., <u>op. cit</u>., p. 10.)

The authors of <u>Sair-i-Punjab</u> give the name as Abdul Karim and add that he was a wazir of Akbar who later renounced the world and performed a <u>chilla</u> at Thanesar. <u>Punjab di Sair</u>,(Punjabi), tr. Giyani Lal Singh, Patiala, 1971, p. 217.)

According to Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, his name was Abdul Qadir.(<u>Op. cit</u>., p. 226.)

B.K. Muztar, on the authority of <u>Tajkarat-i-Aulia</u>, relates that Sheikh Chilli was an Iranian saint who came to India during the reign of Shah Jahan to meet Hajrat Qutub Jalaluddin at Thanesar. But the Sheikh died here. On the advice of Jalaluddin, Sheikh Chilli was also interred in this tomb which the emperor built for him.(<u>Kurukshetra</u>, Delhi, 1978, p. 82). But this story appears incredible as Jalaluddin had already died in 989 A.H., during the reign of Akbar. (Badaoni, <u>op. cit</u>., Vol. III, p. 6.) Moreover, Jalaluddin lies interred in a separate tomb nearby.

130. This last name is given by Cunningham only.(<u>Archaeological Survey of India Report</u>, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 223.)

131. Rodgers, <u>Report</u>...., <u>op. cit</u>., p. 40. & Nabha, <u>loc. cit</u>.

132 Cunningham, <u>Archaeological Survey of India Report</u>, <u>loc. cit</u>.

133. David Ross, <u>loc. cit</u>.

134. Cunningham, <u>Archaeological Survey of India Report</u>, <u>loc. cit</u>.

135. <u>Ibid</u>. & David Ross, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 241. & <u>Punjab di Sair</u>, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 318.

According to Cunningham, some Sikhs carried off portions of its marble to Kaithal. The present scholar visited both the main Gurudwaras at Kaithal. No old lattice is traceable now.

136. *Punjab di Sair*, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

137. William Barr, *Journal of a Tour from Delhi to Peshawar and thence to Cabul*, London, 1844, pp. 23-24.

138. It was declared protected by the government of India vide notification number 13762 dated 21.5.1919. (*List of Protected Monuments*..., *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.)

139. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

140. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol.I, p. 226.

141. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

142. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

143. J.Ph. Vogel is of the view that higher the neck of the dome, later its date of construction. (*Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*, Calcutta, 1920, p. 8).

144. Rodgers, *Revised List*..., *op. cit.*, p. 82.

145. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 210.

146. *Ibid.*

147. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 212.

149. *Ibid.*

150. *Ibid.*

151. *Ibid.*

152. Rodgers, *Revised List*..., *op. cit.*, p. 32.

153. Maulvi Muhammad Shuaib, " Inscriptions from Palwal", *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1911-12), pp. 1-4.

154. J.D. Beglar, *Archaeological Survey of India Report for the year 1871-72*, Vol. VII, Calcutta, 1878, p. 1.

155. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op. cit.*, Vol.II, p.683.

156. *Ibid.*, pp. 683-86.

157. *Ibid.*, p. 686.

158. *Ibid.*

159. When the Patiala chief Karam Singh remodelled the fort in 1774 A.D., he rechristened it as Bahadurgarh, out of his deep devotion to the ninth Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur.(Nabha, op. cit., p. 827 & Punjab Notes & Queries, Vol.I, No. 11, August, 1884, p. 129.)

160. Rodgers, Revised List...., op. cit., p. 48.

161. P. Horn, op. cit., pp.153-54.

CHAPTER V

MOSQUES

Mosque, the *masjid*, literally a " place of prostration" is the most significant religious building of Islam. The Muslims congregate here to say their community prayers. A mosque is a square or rectangular enclosure in brick or stone. To the west of the enclosure is the service portion of the building, consisting of a nave and aisles. The whole is covered with one or more than one domes. Its back wall contains one or more than one recess or alcove, called *mihrab* , indicating *qibla*, the direction of the Mecca facing which the prayers are offered. In most of the mosques, on the right hand side of the mihrab in the nave stands the *mimbar* or pulpit, an elevated platform from which the *khutbah* or sermon is recited. In the courtyard of a large mosque is a tank for *wuzu* or ablutions.

Though most of the villages and towns, once inhabited by the Muslims, have usually more than one mosque, imposing examples are rare in the region under study. The surviving specimens, however, are not without significance. They exhibit numerous variations on the basic theme. A description of the extant specimens follows:

Kabuli Bagh Mosque at Panipat (District Karnal)

Babur, after his victory over Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Panipat, in April, 1526, built a large mosque, laid a garden and dug a tank on the spot, in commemoration of this

grand historical conquest.[1] The whole of this complex was situated about two km. to the northeast of Panipat. The place is still known as Kabuli Bagh.[2] But of all the buildings erected there, only a portion of the mosque survives.[3]

The mosque is an enclosure, 52.5 m. by 44.5 m. in area which had an octagonal bastion at each of its corners (Fig. XXXIX). Only one bastion, that of the southwest corner is extant. Each side of the bastion measures 2.2 m. outside and 1.5 m. inside. It is surmounted with an octagonal cupola of 1.4 m. side and 2.1 m. height.

The access to the courtyard is through a graceful gateway, 7.3 m. high on the outer side and 5.5 m. on the inner side, projected on the northern side (Plate 73). This brick and kankar structure of slightly sloping walls has a red sandstone veneer and is covered with a low pointed dome. The bracket and lintel type entrance is contained in a double sunken arch. Flanking this arch are vertical rows of sunken panels, of which the top ones have some finely carved designs. Each spandrel has a flower medallion. The brackets are also finely carved. A similar precision in carving can also be seen on the gateway of the tomb of Khwaja Khizr at Sonepat. Just below the parapet of the gateway runs an inscription in two long lines in raised Naskh letters . Parts of the inscription have been corroded.

The foundations of a gateway are still in existence in the middle of the eastern wall of the enclosure, 27.4 m. away from the facade of the mosque. Perhaps, there was a gateway on the southern side also.

The mosque proper has a central square room of 10.3 m. side,

rising higher than the triple aisles on its either side (Plate 74). Its southern half is in utter ruins. Only two domes and the bastion are extant on this side. In the western wall of the nave is a mihrab, having one small room measuring 2.3 m. by 1.5 m. on its either side. Above the mihrab, at the top, there are three inscriptions in Arabic, written in ink and below it there is one carved inscription in Persian and Arabic.

The facade of the mosque which is 49.8 m. broad, rises to a height of 11.4 m. in the centre, 8.3 m. at the lower level and 5.6 m. over the aisles. The parapet is marked with merlons, which are also to be found on the 2.8 m. high octagonal drum (of 5.4 m. side) and the base of the large central dome that roofs the nave. In addition to this large dome, covering the aisles on each side, there were three rows of three domes each. The central row of domes rises 1.4 m. higher than the rest.[4] All the domes are hemi-spherical. Only the central dome has a finial. It is in the shape of a nipple.

In the nave, triple recessed arches are thrown across each corner to convert the square of the room into an octagon. Similar treatment in each corner of the octagon changes it into a sixteen sided figure which supports the circular rim of the dome. In the aisles, pendentives having shallow stalactites have been used instead of squinches. Some of the domical vaults of the aisles are interesting. Here, first the arches were thrown across the space and the spaces in-between were filled subsequently.

Some moulded circular terracotta patterns appear on the facade of the mosque and the backside of the gateway. These are partly covered with a layer of plaster.

Dr. R. Nath is of the view that "The spirit of the Baburi Masjid of Panipat does not run parallel with Babur's narrative and it was extremely unlikely that this was raised in accordance with his artistic ideals. At the most it reflects the continuity of the architectural style and tradition, as does the Jamali Kamali Masjid near the Qutub, Delhi, which was built exactly contemporarily in 1528-29. Both are representative of the preceding style."[5]

Maulvi M. Ashraf Husain has translated the texts of the inscriptions on the mosque as follows:[6]

<u>Inscription on the gateway</u>:

"(1) In accordance with the saying of the respected Prophet and command of the Lord of Glory(Allah), (and) at the order of gold-bestowing lord of bounty, Shah Babur, was completed the mosque and the well and the Chahar-Bagh; the year (A.H.) was nine hundred and thirty and five (A.H. 935 = 1528-29 A.D.). The <u>darugha</u> was....

"(2).... the just, the generous and of an unrivalled good disposition. (It was built) at the instance of the fortunate Khwaja of the world, Pahlwan, whose name is Muhammad, son of Hasan, master of excellence. The composer of (these) verses is the afflicted Munshi Shihab, (who) composed a poem like limpid water by the grace of God."

<u>Inscription carved on the mihrab wall</u>

"(1) The foundation of the mosque of His Majesty, the pole-star of the sky of... Zahiru'd-Din Muhammad Babur Badshah Ghazi, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and suzerainty and elevate (his command)....

"(2) Part of Throne Verse."

<u>Inscription in ink on the mihrab wall</u>

"... Rabi'u'l-Awwal, year four and thirty and nine hundred from the Migration of the Prophet (A.H.) 934 (Rabi'I.A.H. 934= November-December 1527-28 A.D.). It was written by Malik Salih."

Not much is known about the persons named in these inscriptions.

One Pahlwan Haji Muhammad, the matchlockman, is mentioned by Babur as having received gifts from him in December, 1528.[7] A person named Pahlwan is also recorded (along with Dost Mir Barr and Maulana Asad) by Abul Fazl as having come from Kabul with representations from Munim Khan, on 20th January, 1556, the day Humayun slipped in his library.[8] It can not be ascertained if any of these Pahlwans is the person mentioned in the inscriptions.

Munshi Shihab, the composer of the inscription might have been the poet Maulana Shihab who arrived in Agra from Herat on 19th September, 1528.[9] Elsewhere, Babur refers to him as Mulla Shihab.[10] His name also appears in the inscription of Mehdi Khwaja on the tomb of Amir Khusro in Delhi and the mosque of Humayun at village Kachhpura near Agra.[11]

There is a well of 1.6 m. diameter sunk in the courtyard of the mosque. This well is said to have had <u>sarad-khanas</u> or cold rooms, going round it.[12] No such room is extant.

To the east of the mosque, there was a large tank. Though the walls of the tank are no more there, its bed measuring 60 m. square, is considerably lower than the ground level surrounding it. Now it has been converted into arable land.

Jama Masjid at Mehm (District Rohtak)

The mosque is situated in the highest part of the town. It survives, for the most part, in good condition (Plate 75).

The sanctuary proper covers an area of 19.4 m. by 9.5 m. (Fig. XL). It comprises a nave, measuring 6.6 m. square, flanked with an aisle measuring 6.6 m. by 3.9 m. The western wall of each division has a mihrab, the central one being the largest. Each aisle has a rectangular recess in its side wall also.

The facade of the sanctuary is pierced by three cusped arches. The central archway which is larger than the others, is contained in a projected bay. The height of the facade is 9.7 m. in the middle, but half a meter less on the sides. The parapet is marked with decorative merlons.

The access to the roof of the building is through a flight of steps in the southern corner of the facade. The mosque has only one dome, placed over the heart of the sanctuary. It emerges from a 2.2 m. high octagonal drum of 3.6 m. side. An inverted lotus moulding and a kalasa finial crown the dome.

The building is made of brick on the foundations of kankar. Its walls are slightly sloping. Originally, the whole had been covered with plaster, polished to mirror finish, traces of which are extant on the walls of the staircase.

In front of the mosque extends a courtyard, 11.8 m. long. On the northern side of the courtyard is a well and a tank for ablutions, measuring 6.8 m. by 6.6 m. Along the eastern wall of the courtyard is a 2.9 m. deep arcade dating from a later period. The threshold and brackets of the gateway have red sandstone pieces, probably taken from some older building.

The moulded decoration on the facade of the mosque and painted designs on the interior are of quite a later date. But the inscription stone over the southern outer arch is original. It bears nine lines in Persian which have been translated by P. Horn as follows:[13]

" In the happiness-spreading reign, extended over all the earth and the time of the master of authority and dignity, the king of kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur Alamgir Badishah-i-Ghazi - may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! - the repairing of the Jami Masjid of the town of Mahim, according to the holy order, was finished through the endeavour of the slave of the court, Khwaja Rahmat Allah - may God Almighty make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and wisdom! - On the 17th of the month Muharram, the holy, A.H. 1078 9th July 1667 , in the tenth year after the blessed accession to the throne."

According to Cunningham, the date mentioned in the inscription when converted into christian era, should be 29th June, 1667.[14]

There is a reference to one "Sarbuland Khan Khwaza Rahmat Ullah" in the Maathir-ul-Umara.[15] But he does not appear to be the person mentioned in the inscription. Two points rouse suspicion. The first is that his title Sarbuland Khan is not mentioned in the inscription although it had been conferred upon him in the 30th year of Shah Jahan's reign, i.e., twelve years before the date of the inscription.[16] Secondly, during the tenth year of Aurangzeb's reign, he was with Prince Muazzam in the Deccan from where he returned after two years.[17]

This inscription, however, gives only the date of the repair

of the mosque. The date of its erection was given by an inscription on the arch, over the pulpit.[18] Neither the pulpit nor the inscription is extant. But fortunately, there is its translation by P. Horn which reads as follows:[19]

" In the time of the reign of the king of kings, the shadow of God in both worlds, the adorned of the throne of kingdom and Khalifat, his Majesty Muhammad Humayun Padishah-i-Ghazi - may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign and exalt his condition and dignity! - his highness the admitted to the palace of Baga Begum Sultan, the worthy of the faith, the chosen of the court Amir Yadgar Taghai, by the grace of God Almighty found grace to build the mosque of the town of Mahim - may God Almighty make him accepted and favoured through His kindness and His wisdom and his perfect liberality! - On the 7th Rajab 937" (24th February, 1531).

Amir Yadgar Taghai was one of the fathers-in-law of Humayun and father of Baga Begum, later given the title of Haji Begum.[20]

Eight lines from Sura lxii are inscribed just above the mihrab.[21]

In the region under study, this is the only mosque which can be dated with certainty in the period of Humayun.

At present, the building is being used as a Gurudwara. All the three archways have been bricked up and fitted with small doors.

Jama Masjid at Kaithal (District Kurukshetra)

This atypical mosque stands in the heart of the town (Plate 76). Its over-all measurements are 31.0 m. by 12.9 m. (Fig. XLI).

Usually, the central portion of a mosque, i.e. nave, is higher than its side wings, i.e. aisles. But this mosque consists of two aisles only, separated from each other by four piers. The western wall has no fewer than five mihrabs. The whole structure is crowned with ten equal-sized domes, in two rows of five each. The over-all effect is that of solidity and solemnity. A combination of squinches and pendentives have been used to support the domes. Each dome is surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding. The flutings on the central dome appear to be of a later date when the mosque was repaired and decorated. The date of repairs as recorded on a wall is 1316 A.H. (the year began the 22nd May, 1898).

The bricks in the courtyard are laid in squares, each having an arch in it.

The mosque bears no inscription recording the date of its construction. On the basis of the shape of its arches, Rodgers ascribes it to the period of Humayun.[22] However, in plan, the mosque is not far removed from the mosque at Sarhatta (Mewat) which comprises three aisles instead of two and has seven arched openings in front instead of five. Accordingly, the number of its domes counts to twenty one.[23] Cunningham assigns the mosque at Sarhatta to the period of Bahadur Nahar who held Mewat under Firoz Tughlaq.[24]

In the southwest of the courtyard of the mosque was a tomb adorned with blue enamelled tiles.[25] The sill of the outer door was an old beam belonging to some Hindu temple, with some grotesque face and scroll and other ornaments carved on it.[26] But none of these structures is extant.

The building of the mosque is in a good state of preservation and accommodates a primary school at present.

Humayun's Mosque at Fatehabad (District Hissar)

This mosque popularly known as Humayun Badshah ki Masjid, stands in the highest part of the town. According to H.B.W. Garrick, the inscription stone, now sunk in the western wall of the nearby mosque was originally found in the said mosque.[27] P. Horn gives the following translation of the text of the inscription:[28]

" In the name"etc. (Quran, Sura lxxii, 18, 19). " The prophet, - upon whom be peace, - says, 'He who builds etc.' This mosque was finished in the days of the reign of the great king, the exalted prince, the master of the necks of crowds of nations among the Indians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who raises the standard of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humayun, Badshahi-Ghazi, - May God Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and guide his ship in the seas of His favour. - through the exertion of the auspicious dignitary, the cream of the accomplished among men, the issue of great Amirs, Amir Rustam Beg, son of his highness the pardoned and purified chosen Amir Muhammad Ali, - God Almighty.... on the 2nd of the month Ramzan A. 945 (the 22nd January, 1539). The superintendent of the work (was) the poor Abdul-Karim."

Garrick also relates that " it is said that Humayun ...., on his flight to Amarkot, passed through Fattehabad on a Friday, and, hearing the muazzin's call to prayer, ordered a halt, with a view to pray in this mosque, which has since borne his name."[29] The belief, however, is not corroborated by historical evidence.

The major stations along the route (in the region under study) undertaken by the emperor during his flight to Amarkot were Rohtak, Sirhind, Machhiwara, Jalandhar, Goindwal etc.[30]

The building of the mosque is quite small, covering an area measuring 8.8 m. by 4.7 m. only (Fig. XLII & Plate 77). It has slightly sloping walls. The facade of the mosque rises to a height of 5.3 m. in the middle and 4.2 m. on sides. It is pierced by two arches, slightly broader at base. The side archway gives access to the northern aisle and the central one to the nave, measuring 2.8 m. by 1.4 m. and 2.8 m. square respectively. The building is covered with three domes. The smaller side domes rise on octagonal drums of 0.9 m. side and 0.5 m. height whereas the central dome stands on an octagonal drum of 1.6 m. side and 1.4 m. height. On the inner side, the central dome is supported by an octagonal base formed by erecting one arch in each corner. For side domes, two arches have been thrown across the breadth so as to reduce the rectangular aisle to a square form. Then, each corner has corbelled pendentives to support the domes.

Originally, the building was adorned with faience tiles. The patterns were first formed by bricks, each having a moulded design at the end. The depressed spaces of the design thus formed were inlaid with tiles. The design in the spandrels consisted of eight-pointed star motif, fitted with cobalt blue tiles. The decoration was intact when the present scholar visited the mosque in 1979 A.D. But now it lies concealed under thick layers of whitewash.

The mosque has undergone major repairs at least thrice

(excluding those undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India). Two inscriptions on the facade record its repair by one Rahmat in 1309 A.H. (the year began the 7th August, 1891).[31] Fortunately, Garrick had already visited it in 1883-84 A.D. and prepared its lithograph, thus preserving for us the actual appearance of this " exquisitely proportioned and enamel-decorated little mosque."[32] At that time, the building had no chunam layer. Subsequent repairs have diminished its beauty to a great extent.

The second repair of the mosque is recorded on a stone slab, fixed on the gateway of the mosque. It bears the dates in the Hijri as well as in the christian era, 1333 & 1910 respectively. But one of the two dates is wrong as the year 1333 A.H. began the 19th November, 1914. The domes of the mosque owe their plaster casing bearing melon-rinds to one of these repairs.

Before the present scholar's visit in August, 1987, the lower portions of the mosque had been lined with white marble slabs in spite of the fact that the mosque was declared a ' Protected Monument' by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1911 A.D.[33]

Mosque at Gaokaran (District Rohtak)

Gaokaran is a small locality on the outskirts of the city of Rohtak. Here stands a mosque, built during the reign of Akbar (Plate 78).

The sanctuary measures 11.8 m. by 6.1 m. (Fig. XLIII). It comprises, as usual, a nave and two aisles. The nave measures 3.9 m. by 3.8 m. whereas each aisle is 4.0 m. by 1.8 m. in area. One pendentive in each corner of the nave converts it into an octagon, then one bracket in each corner makes it a sixteen-sided figure. At this level, each side is marked with a sunken panel.

The domical ceiling rises above it. The ceilings of the aisles have pointed arched curvature.

The mihrab in the westrn wall is topped with floral crenelation, each sunken space having the word 'Allah' carved in it.

The facade of the mosque which rises to a height of 5.9 m. in the middle is perforated with four arches. Three right hand arches, the central one being the largest, give access to the interior of the mosque whereas the fouth accommodates a 0.6 m. broad flight of steps, leading to the roof. The northern and the southern walls of the mosque were also pierced with an archway each, now blocked up. All the arches are true, i.e., made of radiating blocks. Each spandrel has a projected boss in it. On either side of the main arch is one panel carved with geometrical floral design. The parapet of the mosque has decorative merlons which also appear on the parapet of the octagonal drum (of 2.1 m. side and 1.7 m. height) of the dome. The dome is slightly constricted at its base and is surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding. Each rear corner of the mosque is marked with an octagonal bastion of 0.6 m. side. Near the northwestern bastion, there is a carved water spout projecting from the parapet. It appears that originally, it was a pillar but was put to improvised use here.

The facade of the mosque bears a Persian inscription. The English rendering of its text runs thus:[34]

" The darwesh Mast Jan, the heaven of benignity, has gone out of life a slave of the order of God; He has made his soul a temple of good works, he became happy by it, and a receiver of the time of God (of eternity). Every man who has come to

this mosque shall get a drop of the ocean of the kindness of God's banquet. (?) Zahidi (or 'a hermit') wrote the date of this mosque; he said,' Say "A temple of God's favourites".' "

The letters of the chronogram give the date 966 A.H. (the year began the 14th October, 1558).[35]

In the midst of the stone, the period of erection has been engraved in a square -" in the time of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar."[36]

Nothing is known about Darwesh Mast Jan. Perhaps, he was a saint of local fame only.

The building material used for the mosque is mainly kankar. Stone has been used in the lower part of the central arch and in its spandrels. The building is in a remarkably good condition and is at present being used as a pen.

Chiniwali Masjid at Thanesar (District Kurukshetra)

This mosque is situated at the northern end of the main bazaar of the town (Plate 79).

It stands on a 3.0 m. high platform which is a full-fledged storey, containing cells of different sizes, each fronted with a porch. These cells might have been used as living rooms for the attendant priests or as shops, thus ensuring a regular income for the maintenance of the mosque.

The nave of the sanctuary measures 4.0 m. square whereas each aisle measures 3.6 m. by 3.2 m. (Fig. XLIV). The northern aisle is attached to a cell measuring 2.0 m. by 1.8 m. This feature is not found in other mosques of the region under study. One pendentive in each corner supports the domical ceilings of the

nave and aisles. The ceilings bear stalactites. The domes are quite low, hence not visible from the bazaar. Neither were they meant for it as none of these has any moulding or finial.

Each corner of the facade is engaged to an octagonal minaret of 1.0 m. side and crowned with a cupola. A staircase in the northern wall leads to the roof from where one spiralling flight of stairs in each minaret reaches its cupola.

The mosque owes its name - Chiniwali Masjid - to its former decoration. Its facade, northern wall and minarets are all divided into sunken panels, once filled with floral patterns executed in variegated glazed tiles. But the colour of the tiles had already come off even when Rodgers saw it in 1888-89 A.D.[37] The shape of the patterns is still visible even under repeated coats of whitewash.

Cunningham, on the basis of the style of its glazed tile decoration assigns its erection to the period of Aurangzeb.[38] But Rodgers claims to have noted an inscription on the southern minaret which the General had not noted. This inscription recorded the date of its erection 973 A.H. (the year began the 29th July, 1565), in numerals as well as in the form of a chronogram.[39] The inscription is not extant. But the mode of decoration with tile mosaics in which each part of a design consists of a small piece of tile of one uniform colour, came into vogue during the reign of Shah Jahan. The shape of the minarets also point to a later date. The possibility is that the original building was erected in 973 A.H. but it was renovated and decorated with tile mosaics at a later date.

During his visit in 1982 A.D., the present scholar saw a well having an inscription stone near the southern wall of the

mosque and an underground room approached through the well and a staircase on the southern side. In front of it was a small tank, nearly 5.0 m. square, having the base of a fountain in the centre. But all of these were filled up at a later date.

The room to the south of the mosque was originally, perhaps a tomb. Its dome was also encrusted with tiles laid in a herring-bone fashion. These tiles, too, have disappeared.

Jama Masjid at Narnaul (District Mohindergarh)

Situated in the town, this mosque is in a ruinous condition (Plate 80). The excavation of its floor and the surrounding area have revealed an ancient Hindu temple.

The mosque comprises two rows of three bays each measuring 5.2 m. square. The western wall has only one mihrab. Each of the three western bays is covered with a dome, surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding. The ceiling of the front three bays has crumbled since long. Just below the parapet runs a deep chhajja.

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand records a hearsay according to which this mosque is believed to have been built by Aurangzeb, on the site of an old temple of Chamandu which was built by king Nunakarna.[40] But according to Garrick, this mosque was built in 999 A.H. (the year began the 20th October, 1590) by Shah Quli Khan.[41] Dr. Anand also gives the same date.[42]

The present scholar came across an incomplete inscription stone (in four pieces) lying in the Chhatta of Rai Mukand Das.[43] It records the erection of a mosque by Shah Quli Khan during the reign of Akbar, in the year 996 A.H. (the year began the

22nd November, 1587). Most probably, this inscription stone originally belonged to the mosque under study and the same formed the basis of dating for Garrick who mistook the date 996 for 999 because the Persian numeral for nine (٩) is quite similar to the one for six (٦). And it appears that Dr. Anand simply copied the date from the Report by Garrick.

Mosque near Ali Jan ka Takht at Narnaul (District Mohindergarh)

This mosque is quite different in plan from the mosque described above (Fig. XLV & Plate 81).

The building measures 21.1 m. by 6.3 m. The interior is divided into five sections, the middle three measuring 4.4 m. square each and the rest two 3.8 m. by 2.5 m. each. Each division is entered through an archway in the eastern wall. The middle three archways are each 3.8 m. broad and the rest two only 1.4 m. broad. The northern and the southern walls also have a 1.4 m. broad archway each. Only the central division has a mihrab.

The smaller aisles are roofed with semi-domes whereas the middle three with one very low dome each, raised on pendentives. A sheath of petals crowns each dome.

The building is made of rubble without any plaster coating. The structure has no decoration but for some stalactites on the soffits of the semi-domes.

There is a beautifully shaped tank of 2.7 m. diameter and 1.3 m. depth , in front of the mosque.

There are some graves nearby, one of which is finely inscribed. But the inscriptions lie hidden under the thick layers of whitewash. Most probably, the man buried in the tomb is Ali Jan, the builder of the adjoining baoli, built during the reign of Akbar.[44] The

mosque might have been a part of the burial complex, hence built about the same period.

The mosque now lies derelict.

Jama Masjid at Faridabad

The mosque is situated in the midst of the old city and is still frequented by the faithful (Plate 82).

The sanctuary covering an area of 23.9 m. by 10.2 m. comprises a nave measuring 5.4 m. square, flanked by a 4.6 m. square aisle (Fig. XLVI). Each of the three sections is separately roofed with a domical ceiling. Pendentives adorned with stalactites define the transition zone.

The facade of the mosque rises to a height of 10.8 m. in the middle and 2.1 m. lower on sides. It is perforated with three arches, each contained in a rectangular recess. One flight of steps on either side of the archways, gives access to the roof of the building.

The mosque is crowned with only one dome placed over the sanctum sanctorum. It is hemi-spherical in shape and is surmounted with a sheath of moulded petals and a finial. The dome emerges from a 2.6 m. high octagonal drum of 3.6 m. side. The parapet of the drum as well as the facade ~~of the drum~~ is defined by decorative crenelation. Each of the four corners of the mosque is developed into an octagonal pilaster terminating above parapet into a lotus pinnacle. Four more such pinnacles were installed at the corners of the nave. But of all these minarets, only one, that on the southwest corner is extant. Only the stumps of the rest survive.

Originally, the building was embellished with glazed tiles

of different colours. But only a few tiles of turquoise colour are extant. Each spandrel of the arches of the mosque is adorned with a medallion of carved stone, inscribed with the Kalima. Twelve such medallions are on the facade and sixteen on the interior.

A 31.0 m. long courtyard, paved with red sandstone, spreads across the facade of the sanctuary. A tank measuring 8.2 m. square was there in the courtyard but is now found filled up.

Above the middle arch on the facade, is fixed a large and finely carved inscription, the text of which as translated by H. Blochmann runs thus:[45]

"In the reign of Shah Nuruddin, a king who is pious, just, and liberal, Murtaza Khan, the unique one (farid) of the age and faith, erected this religious building. He is honoured, powerful, generous, and liberal, a worthy descendant of the king of men Ali . As Tarikh of this lasting structure, the words Khayru'l-Biqa issued from the pen."

The chronogram gives the date 1014 A.H. which is also recorded in figures (the year began the 9th May, 1605).

The real name of Murtaza Khan was Sheikh Farid Bukhari. He was the man who defeated Sultan Khusro, the rebellious son of Jahangir, at the end of 1014 A.H.[46] But the title of Murtaza Khan was conferred upon him for the victory in the very beginning of the year 1015 A.H.[47] Perhaps, the inscription records the date of the foundation of the mosque and the inscription was put up on the completion of the building when Sheikh Farid Bukhari had been elevated as Murtaza Khan.

A modern tomb stands on the northern side of the courtyard.

It bears the inscription " Manazil-e-Javedanie-Azam 1213 Hijri" (the year began the 15th June, 1798). It is not known who lies interred in the tomb.

Jama Masjid at Fatehabad (District Amritsar)

The mosque stands near the sarai built by Jahangir to commemorate his victory over Sultan Khusro (Plate 83).

The sanctuary spreads over an area measuring 24.0 m. by 10.5 m. and rises to a height of 9.9 m. in the middle and 8.1 m. on sides. The nave measuring 5.9 m. square, is flanked by an aisle measuring 5.9 m. by 5.2 m. Each of its three sections has a domical ceiling. Spherical pendentives have been used for the purpose in the aisles and an arch has been built across each corner in the nave. The western wall has three mihrabs, each adorned with stalactites. On the right hand side of the central mihrab is the mimbar. Opposite to each mihrab, there is an arched entrance contained in a rectangular recess.

On the exterior, the mosque is covered with only one single dome, resting on a 1.4 m. high octagonal drum of 3.3 m. side. The dome is surmounted by an inverted lotus moulding and a modern finial. Each corner of the parapet is marked with a minaret.

The mosque does not bear any inscription recording the date of its erection. But it almost resembles the mosque at Faridabad, described previous to it. Most probably, the mosque at Fatehabad was ordered to be erected by Jahangir along with the nearby sarai, under the superintendence of Murtaza Khan, the builder of the mosque at Faridabad because he held the pargana of Fatehabad as his jagir.[48] Hence the similarity in the design

of the two mosques.

As recorded in an inscription on the mosque, the whole building was renovated and decorated with painting and plaster relief work in 1317 A.D. (the year began the 20th June, 1928).

The courtyard of the mosque has a well also.

The building of the mosque is in a first rate condition and is being used as a primary school.

Mosque of Shah Nizam at Narnaul (District Mohindergarh)

The mosque is situated to the west of the tomb of Shah Nizam (Plate 84). The building is in a good condition and is a ' Protected Monument' of the Government of Haryana. Still, it is being used as a private residence.

The interior of the sanctuary resolves itself into three equal bays, each measuring 5.6 m. square and entered through an archway in its eastern wall. The northern bay also has an opening in its eastern wall. Only the central bay has a mihrab.

Each bay is independently roofed with a dome. The transition from the square to the dome has been achieved by an arch in each corner. On the exterior, each dome sits on an octagonal drum the angles of which are marked with pinnacles. One such pinnacle is also planted at each corner of the mosque. Wide eaves supported on brackets provide an element of relief to the facade.

The total area covered by the sanctuary measures 21.4 m. by 8.0 m.

The whole building, in its pristine condition, was richly painted. The traces of arabesque designs and medallions executed in red and dark green can still be seen on the interior walls, partially hidden under the layers of smoke. The painting is of

the incised type. Stalactites adorn the under-surface of the corner arches and domes. The painted decoration of the facade, however, dates from a later period.

The mosque bears no inscription. But G. Yazdani saw an inscription on the mosque in the beginning of this century. Perhaps, it was fixed just over the mihrab where there is still a deep sunken space. Yazdani's translation of the inscription runs as follows:[49]

" (1) In the reign of the king, Nuru-d-din Jahangir, whose hand in generosity is like an ocean.

" (2) The noble minded visitor, Ni'matu-l-lah, who has established the custom of generosity:

" (3) In front of the tomb of the axis of the world, the perfection of truth, and the administrator of religion and the world:

" (4) Built this wonderful and grand mosque, which is a match to the holy mosque at Jerusalem.

" (5) How can I describe the beauties of his (Ni'matu-l-lah's) mosque, for its qualities are beyond enumeration.

" (6) I enquired of the divine inspirer about the date of the building, a voice came, ' The house of the most high god.'- 1031 A.H." (the year began the 6th November, 1621).

One person of the name Niamatullah held the office of <u>Wakia-navis</u> or historiographer at the court of Jahangir and was the author of a work <u>Makhzan-i-Afghani</u>, also called <u>Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Lodi</u>.[50] It is not known if the two Niamatullahs are one and the same person.

Qazion-ki-Masjid at Sadhora (District Ambala)

The mosque stands in the highest portion of the town, near the bank of the river[51] (Plate 85). At present, it is being used as a pen.

The rectangle covered by the sanctuary measures 16.8 m. by 9.6 m. (Fig. XLVII). An octagonal pilaster is appended to each corner of the building. Its facade is pierced by three inter-connected porches, each 2.6 m. deep. An opening in the back wall of each porch gives entry to the interior of the mosque. It comprises a nave and two aisles, measuring 4.1 m. square and 3.9 m. by 3.4 m. respectively. Each aisle and the nave has its western wall recessed by a mihrab.

The mosque was covered with three domes, two of which had crumbled even before Rodgers visited it in 1888-89 A.D.[52] Only one dome, i.e., on the southern aisle is extant.

In the courtyard of the mosque is a tank measuring 5.4 m. square and 1.3 m. deep.

According to Rodgers, the spandrels of the arches on the facade were filled with blue and yellow glazed tiles laid in geometrical patterns.[53] Not even the traces of the tile work are extant. However, the stucco stalactites on the soffits of the porches survive.

The mosque bears four inscriptions, one in each of the side porches and two in the central one. But only one of these is readable. It records the building of the mosque by Qazi Abu Muhammad and Abul Makarim in 1054 or 1055 A.H. (the years began the 29th February, 1644 & 17th February, 1645 respectively).[54]

Qazi Abul Makarim was the son of Abdul Wahab[55] whose name

is associated with a mosque and tomb, situated not far away, in the same town. Abul Makarim was appointed the Diwan of Bijapur in May, 1690.[56]

Outside the mosque enclosure stand two carved pillars removed from some old Hindu temple. One of them is 0.30 m. square at top and 0.90 m. high. The other is also of the same length but 0.35 m. broad at the top. The shafts of both the pillars are fluted.

According to Rodgers, the step to the mosque-yard was the gualka mouilding of a temple.[57] It is not extant.

Mosque at Bahadurgarh (District Patiala)

The mosque is situated inside the fort near the village. It is one of the finest specimens in the region (Plate 86).

The access to the sanctuary is through three cusped archways, opening into the nave measuring 8.4 m. by 4.7 m. The nave is flanked by an aisle measuring 4.7 m. square, lighted through the jalis in the facade and side walls. Each aisle and the nave has a mihrab. The ceiling of each of the three divisions is in the form of a sail-vault. The use of iron is visible in the ceilings.

On the exterior, each division of the interior is defined by a dome, the central one being rectangular and larger than those on the sides. Each dome has a double shell and is crowned with an inverted lotus moulding and a kalasa finial.

The corners of the facade of the mosque have been marked by an octagonal pilaster each, culminating above parapet into a minaret covered with a cupola. Two small minarets have been planted on the sides of the nave. Just below the parapet, the facade is shaded with a chhajja which gets curved over the

entrance, in consonance with the three arches below. Over these arches runs an inscription consisting of six lines. The English rendering of the inscription runs thus:[58]

" In the time of the defender of the faith
" Shah Alamgir, son of Shah Jahan,
" For the worship of the faithful,
" The foundations of this building were laid
" The date and year of this the learned can tell,
" The founder of this masjid was Saif Khan."[59]

The last line of the inscription forms a chronogram which yields the date 1077 A.H. (the year began the 24th June, 1666.)

In the courtyard of the mosque is a tank, having three steps in each corner and a fountain in the centre.

The whole mosque stands on a 1.8 m. high platform which had cells in it, now blocked up.

Mosque of Abdul Wahab at Sadhora (District Ambala)

The mosque of Abdul Wahab is not in the neighbourhood of the Qazion ki Masjid, as Cunningham stated it to have been[60] nor is its face towards south, as Rodgers described it.[61] It is situated to the west of the town and has appropriate orientation. (Plate 87).

The nave of the mosque measuring 4.0 m. square is flanked by an aisle measuring 4.0 m. by 2.0 m. The peculiarity of the building is that it has a 1.3 m. broad verandah in front. The facade of the mosque rises to a height of 5.4 m. in the middle and 4.7 m. on the sides. The building is surmounted by three double domes. The side domes which are rectangular, stand

on the drums of the same shape measuring 4.8 m. by 2.8 m. and 2.2 m. high. The central bulbous dome rises on a 2.2 m. high circular drum. All the three domes have inverted lotus mouldings. The roof is approached by a staircase built in the southern wall.

Cusped arches have been used for all openings.

In its pristine condition, the mosque must have been an elegant piece of workmanship. The intekior had been richly painted with floral designs. The whole of its facade upto parapet, was originally encrusted with glittering tile mosaics of blue, yellow and green colour. Sacred inscriptions, proclaiming the divine message, executed in tiles framed arches on the facade. Panels of tiled inscriptions flowed over other parts of the interior as well as the exterior. The spandrels of the arches were also picked out in tile mosaics exhibiting arabesque designs. A few of the decorations and particularly the inscriptions were surviving when the present scholar visited the mosque in 1980 A.D. But all lies hidden now under the repeated coats of whitewash by those who have been residing in the building since long. Only one inscription in white tiles against a green background is visible in the southern aisle.

Of the numerous inscriptions that adorned the mosque, only one was of an historical significance. It appeared on the central arch of the mosque, inside the verandah and recorded the name of Aurangzeb and the date of the completion of the mosque - 1080 A.H. (the year began the 22nd May, 1669).[62]

Although the mosque is associated with the name of some

Abdul Wahab, his name has not been mentioned in the inscription.

One Abdul Wahab (Qazi), the author of a Dastur-ul-Amal, lived in the time of the emperor Aurangzeb and died on the 26th November, 1675.[63] It can not be said whether the two persons are one and the same.

In front of the mosque is a tomb and Abdul Wahab is believed to have been interred in it . The upper portion of the tomb is a modern building but the lower courses are original. From the style and material used, it appears to be contemporaneous with the tomb of Subhan at Sirhind, built about the end of the fifteenth century.[64]

It appears that the tomb already existed on the spot and some local saint lies buried in it. Later, Qazi Abdul Wahab erected the mosque near it as a gesture of honour for the saint.

Mosque at Bahrampur (District Gurdaspur)

The mosque is situated to the east of the village and is being used for holding primary school classes (Plate 88). The building is in an excellent state of preservation.

Over-all, the mosque measures 17.6 m. by 12.8 m. with some projections in the western wall. The facade of the mosque, rises to a height of 5.7 m. on sides and one metre higher in the centre. It is perforated with three arches, each contained in a larger recess. The central opening is 3.0 m. wide and others are 2.6 m. wide. The archways open into a 4.3 m. broad verandah, covered with an almost flat ceiling. The northern and the southern walls of the verandah also have one opening each. Three archways in the western wall of the verandah open into the prayer chamber,

comprising a nave and two aisles. The nave measures 4.4 m. by 4.2 m. and each aisle 4.4 m. square. Here again, the northern and the southern walls have an archway each. The back wall of the mosque has three mihrabs to answer the three entrances on the facade. The nave and each aisle is separately spanned with a dome each. Pendentives transform the square aisles and the almost square nave into octagons.

All the arches on the facade, but for the central one, have a cusped profile.

One flight of steps in the northern wall of the mosque leads to the roof. Here, only the central dome has a drum to sit on, which is 1.7 m. high and circular in shape. All the three domes have been placed on the rear part of the building, these are only slightly visible from the front side.

An interesting feature of the mosque is the presence of some alcoves in the walls which were used to place small lighted earthen lamps. The soffit of each alcove has an aperture which pierces through the wall and opens on the roof, just like a chimney. They conducted the smoke of lamps out and saved the interior from soot.

According to an inscription on the facade of the mosque, it was erected during the year 1096 A.H. (the year began the 28th November, 1684) by Haji Bahram.

Mosque of Shah Bahlol at Hissar

The mosque stands on a high mound to the east of the city, in the locality known as Dana Sher (Plate 89). It is quite a simple structure standing on a platform.

The prayer chamber resolves itself into a nave and two aisles, measuring 3.8 m. square and 3.9 m. by 2.3 m. respectively (Fig. XLVIII). Each aisle has three arched openings, one in each of its walls, but the nave has only one, on the facade which is contained in a projected bay. This is the only mosque in the region under study that the present scholar has come across, having openings in the western wall. The arches on the facade have a cusped profile.

An arch has been built across each corner of the nave to transform it into an octagon which could support the circular rim of the domical ceiling. But as each aisle is rectangular in shape, it has been first converted into a square by erecting one arch across its breadth and then spanned with a domical ceiling.

On the exterior, the central dome is higher and larger than its fellow domes. Also the central dome has melon rind markings in plaster. All the three domes have inverted lotus mouldings but their finials are broken.

The mosque is devoid of any decoration. The platform in front of the mosque is paved with large square bricks of 20 cm side.

The mosque bears no inscription at present. But P. Horn has recorded an inscription on this mosque which he translated as follows:[65]

" The follower of the law of the Prophet, the chosen one,'Abd-alnab
"Whose sight gives brightness to the mirror of the heart,
"Erected, before the courtyard of Shah Bahlul's mausoleum,
" A grand mosque, which is to be the dwelling of worshippers.

"A heavenly speaker said without hesitation, 'write the hemistich

" This building was completed in 1106.' " (the year began the 22nd August, 1694).

Nothing is known about the persons mentioned in the inscription.

Some carved pillars of ancient temples lie scattered in the enclosure. Two pillars have been fixed at the entrance of the nearby tomb. Each measures 33 cm. square and is 1.25 m. high. Some large blocks of kankar are also lying nearby. They were used to construct the platform.

The enclosure also has a tank 5.6 m. square which is in ruins.

Mosque of Daula Khan at Mehm (District Rohtak)

The mosque stands close to the tomb of Daula Khan, on the road to Hansi.

An inscription appears over the right hand arch of the facade (Plate 90). P. Horn's translation of the text runs as follows:[66]

" In the name of the merciful and compassionate God. There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God.

" O God! O opener!	"O Muhammad! O apostle of God!
"This edifice for the merciful God	"Its builder (was) Daula Khan of elevated rank;
"His father (was) a celeberqted Bakhtiyar,	"Darya Khan whose sins are forgiven.
"The year of the completion -name with wisdom and discernment:	"Masjid u miqbara zi Khan 'mosque and tomb (are built) by the Khan.' "

The last line of the inscription forms a chronogram which according to P. Horn, yields the date 1108 A.H.[67] (the year began the 31st July, 1696). But P. Horn's calculation of the chronogram can not be correct. Because the chronogram also mentions the nearby tomb of Daula Khan which he erected in 1114 A.H., during his lifetime.[68] The mention of the tomb six years prior to its erection is an improbability. Actually, the line '<u>masjid mucbara zi Khan</u>' gives the date 1116 (the year began the 25th April, 1704).

A person named Darya Khan appears in the <u>Maasir-i-Alamgiri</u>, twice. He was present when the <u>khutba</u> of the marriage of Sultan Murad Baksh's son Sultan Izad Baksh with Mehrunnisa Begum, the daughter of Aurangzeb, was read.[69] He also attended the marriage party of Murad Baksh's daughter, Dostdar Banu.[70] However, it can not be ascertained whether the two Khans are one and the same person.

The building comprises a single compartment measuring 7.2 m. by 4.1 m. outside and 6.4 m. by 2.8 m. inside. It has five entrances, three on the eastern side and one each in the northern and the southern side. The roof of the mosque has already crumbled. A square minaret, topped with a solid cupola, is engaged to either corner of the facade.

The shape and clumsy proportions of the minarets indicate quite a later date for the erection of the mosque. Most probably, this mosque was erected at the site of the previous original mosque of Daula Khan and the old inscription stone was relaid in the facade.

Jama Masjid at Batala (District Gurdaspur)

Situated in the main bazaar, this mosque is being used as part of Government Girls School (Plate 91). Sujan Rai Bhandari attributes its erection to Qazi Abdul Haq who built it during the reign of Aurangzeb.[71]

The facade of the mosque is 24.5 m. long and rises to a height of 6.1 m. on sides and 1.6 m. higher in the middle (Fig. XLIX). It is pierced with three equal sized arches, each 3.2 m. broad, giving access to the nave and aisles, each measuring 4.7 m. square. Whereas an arch with semi-octagonal base has been erected across each corner of the nave for supporting the domical ceiling, but pendentives were used in the aisles. The screen wall of the mosque has three mihrabs, the central one being semi-octagonal. The mimbar on its right hand side is extant.

Each division of the interior has been marked with a dome on the exterior. Only the central dome stands on a drum which is 1.6 m. high and circular in shape. It has an inverted lotus moulding at its top.

The soffits of the arches and the domes have been adorned with moulded stalactites. But a unique decoration on the mosque is its inscriptions. They have been formed with iron letters nailed onto the walls. In no other mosque in the region under study has the present scholar come across such iron inscriptions. Most of the letters have got rusted due to repeated layers of whitewash. But Dr. J.S. Grewal was able to decipher a few of them. According to him, " there are verses in praise of the Prophet and the first four khalifas....Not only are the first

four _khalifas_ praised, they are regarded as superior to the descendants of Ali."[72] On the basis of these inscriptions, Dr. Grewal concludes that "the _sunnis_ of Batala were concious of their sectarian differences with the _shi'as_ of the town...."[73]

In front of the courtyard extends a courtyard measuring 33 m. by 26 m.

Mosque at Pinjore (District Ambala)

The mosque measures 23.3 m. by 9.6 m. in area (Fig. L and Plate 92). The floor of the mosque is defined with a carved frieze. The facade of the mosque is pierced with three arches, each contained in a rectangular recess. The central arch is higher and wider then the others. The facade soars to a height of 7.8 m. on sides and 9.1 m. in the middle and is marked with sunken panels.

The interior of the mosque comprises a nave measuring 5.0 m. by 4.9 m. and two aisles, each measuring 4.3 m. by 4.1 m. Each of them has a semi-octagonal mihrab in the western wall. But the western wall has no hump on the exterior, corresponding to the central mihrab, as is usual in other mosques. One arch across each corner of the nave and aisles convert them into octagons, used for supporting the domical ceilings.

On the exterior, the mosque is covered with three pear-shaped double domes. The central dome rises on a 1.6 m. high circular drum which again stands on a 1.0 m. high octagonal platform of 2.7 m. side. The octagonal platform for side domes are of 2.1 m. side and 0.6 m. high above which rises one metre high circular drum. Each dome is surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding and a finial.

Each corner of the facade is marked by an octagonal pilaster which terminates above parapet into a minaret, covered by a cupola.

The pear-shaped double domes of the mosque indicate a date in the later half of the seventeenth century. Most probably, Fidai Khan Koka who laid the garden at Pinjore was the builder of this mosque also.

Cunningham who visited Pinjore during 1878-79 A.D., mentions one ancient inscription inside the arcade and two others in the walls surrounding the mosque.[74] He also gives the contents of these inscriptions.[75] A decade later, Charles Rodgers also visited the place. He examined the building most minutely, but not a letter of the inscriptions was visible and he could find no one who could say that he had seen an inscription there.[76] One of the inscriptions mentioned by Cunningham was found by Rodgers in the baoli, about 1.5 km. away from the mosque.[77]

FOOTNOTES

1. Strangely enough, Babur does not mention the erection of these buildings in his autobiography - Tuzuk-i-Baburi or Baburnama.

2. When Babur built his garden and palace at Agra, he himself tells us: " The people of Hind who had never seen grounds planned so symmetrically and thus laid out, called the site of the Jun [Jamuna] where (our) residences were, Kabul." (Baburnama, tr. A.S. Beveridge, Delhi, Rep. 1979, p. 532).
Perhaps similar was the case at Panipat.

3. The mosque was declared a 'Protected Monument' vide notification number 13762 dated 21.5.1919. [List of Protected Monuments accepted by Government of India (corrected upto September, 1928), Simla, 1928, pp. 6-7.]

4. David Ross wrongly counted these small domes to be 26 whereas their total number could be only eighteen. (The Land of Five Rivers & Sindh, Patiala, Rep. 1970, p. 244.)

5. R. Nath, History of Mughal Architecture, Part I, Delhi, 1982, p. 105.

6. Maulvi M. Ashraf Husain," Inscriptions of Emperor Babur", Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplément), 1965, Calcutta, 1966, pp. 53-56 & Plate XVI.

7. Babur, op. cit., p. 633.

8. Abul Fazl, Akbar-Nama, Vol. I, Delhi, Rep. 1972, p. 656.

9. Babur, op. cit., p. 605.

10. Ibid., p. 683.

11. R. Nath, op. cit., p. 176, f.n. 26.

12. Charles J. Rodgers, Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in Punjab, Lahore, 1891, p. 60.

13. P. Horn, " Muhammadan Inscriptions from the Suba of Dihli", Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, Delhi, Rep. 1970, pp. 151-52

14. Alexander Cunningham, Book of Indian Eras, Varanasi, 1970, p. 130.

15. Nawab Samsam-ud-daula Shah Nawaz Khan, The Maathir-ul-Umara, Vol. II, Patna, n.d., pp. 708-10.

16. Ibid., p. 709.

17. Ibid.

18. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 149.

19. *Ibid.*
The *Rohtak District Gazetteer* (1910) also contains the Persian reading of the inscription (Lahore, 1911, p.44).

20. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

21. P. Horn, *loc. cit.*

22. Rodgers, *op. cit.* , p. 62.

23. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882-83*, Vol. XX, Rep. 1969, pp. 118-19 & Plate XXVIII.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

25. Charles Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1888-89*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 19.

26. *Ibid.*

27. H.B.W. Garrick, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab and Rajputana in 1883-84*, Vol. XXIII, Varanasi, n.d., p. 12 & Plate III & Subhash Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions in the Punjab, Haryana & Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi, 1985, Plate 8.

28. P. Horn, *op cit.*, p. 425.

29. Garrick, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

30. Abul Fazl, *op. cit.*, p. 355 & the same work in *Mughal Kalin Bharat* (Humayun, Part I), tr. S.A.A. Rizvi, Aligarh, 1961, pp. 86-87.

31. Parihar, *op. cit.*, p. 19 & Plate 9.

32. Garrick, *op. cit.*, p. 12 & Plate IV.

33. Vide notification number 513 dated Ist September, 1911. (*List of the Protected Monuments*...., *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5).
Another order to the effect was issued under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (VII of 1904) during the session 1928-29. [H. Hargreaves, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1928-29), Delhi, 1933, p. 175.]

34. P. Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle*...., *op. cit.*, p. 13.

38. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II, Delhi, Reprint 1972, p. 222.

39. Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle*...., *loc. cit.*

40. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, "Haryana Heritage", Marg, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, Bombay, September, 1974, p. 32.

41. Garrick, op. cit., p. 28.

42. Anand, loc. cit.

43. Parihar, op. cit., p. 48 & Plate 29.

44. For the details of the baoli, see pp. 220-21 of the thesis

45. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, tr. H. Blochmann, Delhi, Rep. 1977, p. 688.

46. Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Book I, tr. A. Rodgers & H. Beveridge, Delhi, Rep. 1968, p. 64.

47. Ibid., p. 69.

48. Ibid. &
Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulastut-Tawarikh, Pbi. tr. Ranjit Singh Gill, Patiala, 1972, p. 459.

49. G. Yazdani, "Narnaul and its Buildings", Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1907), New Series, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1908, pp. 640-41.

50. Elliot & Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. V, Allahabad, Rep. 1975, p. 67.

51. Besides the Pathriya Masjid, General Cunningham mentions two other mosques at Sadhora, namely the Qazion-ki-Masjid and the Jama Masjid. (Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, Rep. 1970, p. 74).

But there is no Jama Masjid in the town and we can agree with Rodgers that Cunningham's "Jama Masjid and Qazion ki Masjid are only one....If his two decriptions be joined together they will fit the Qazi's masjid...."(Report of the Punjab Circle..., op. cit., p. 26.)

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Parihar, op. cit., p. 60 & Plate 39.

Rodgers credits Abul Makarim and Qazi Abu Muhammad for the erection of two gateways also (not extant). One of these was dated 1029 A.H. (the year began the 28th November, 1619) in the reign of Jahangir (Report of the Punjab Circle..., op. cit., p.26). Cunningham also mentions these gateways but he does not attribute their construction to anybody. (Report of a Tour in the Punjab..., loc. cit.)

55. Saqi Mustad Khan, Maasir-i-Alamgiri, Pbi. tr. Darshan Singh Awara, Patiala, 1977, p. 71.

But Rodgers says that Abul Makarim and Abu Muhammad were the sons of Shah Qamis, a famous saint of Sadhora, in the time of Akbar. (Report of the Punjab Circle....,op. cit., p.26). However, the source of his information is not known.

56. Mustad Khan, op. cit., p. 302.

57. Rodgers, Report of the Punjab Circle...., loc. cit.

58. Punjab Notes & Queries, Vol. I, No. 2, August, 1884, p. 129.

59. For a brief account of his life see pp. 151-52 of the thesis.

60. Cunningham, Report of a Tour in the Punjab...., op. cit., p. 74.

61. Rodgers, Report of the Punjab Circle....,op. cit., p. 25.

62. For the Persian text of the inscription see Rodgers, Report of the Punjab Circle...., loc. cit.

According to him, the chronogram forming part of the inscription yields the date 1031 A.H. (Ibid.)

For a Plate of the inscription see, Parihar, op. cit., Plate 40.

63. T.W. Beale, An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, Ludhiana, Rep. 1972, p. 14.

For more information about Qazi Abdul Wahab see Anees Jahan Syed, Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-ul Lubab, Bombay, 1977, pp. 268, 269 and 270.

64. Parihar, op. cit., p. 13 & Plate 4.

65. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 157 & H. Blochmann, "Delmerick's Inscriptions from Hissar Firozah", Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1877), Calcutta, 1877, p. 97.

66. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 153.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid., pp. 153-54.

69. Mustad Khan, op. cit., p. 103.

70. Ibid., p. 107.

71. Bhandari, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

72. Dr. J.S. Grewal, "Inscriptions from Batala", Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference (Sixth Session, March, 1971), Patiala, 1972, p. 56.

73. *Ibid.*

74. Cunningham, *Report of a Tour in the Punjab....* op. cit., p. 71.

75. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

76. Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle....* op. cit., p.32.

77. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VI

OTHER MONUMENTAL STRUCTURES

Mughal architecture, however, was not confined to the four categories described on the preceding pages. Of course, they formed the main building types but the other buildings of substantial beauty, requiring equal skill and imagination, were also constructed throughout the empire. Chief among these were forts, private residences, pleasure pavilions, madrassas, baolis, tanks, bridges, kos-minars etc. As in the case of the buildings of other types, here also, practical needs dictated their basic plans, but imagination transformed them into works of beauty.

Some specimens of these types have also survived in the region under study. Here follows a category-wise description of the extant monuments:

(A) Forts

Bahadurgarh Fort (District Patiala)

This fort is situated on the Patiala-Chandigarh road. The inscription on the inner-most gateway of the fort, when translated, reads as follows:[1]

"God wills his servants to enjoy his grace!

"May the dwellers here be ever happy!

"In the time of the emperor Alamgir,

"Saif Khan[2] founded Saifabad."

The last line of the inscription is a chronogram which yields the year 1067 A.H.[3] (the year began the 10th October, 1656).

As is obvious from the inscription, when founded it was meant to be a fortified village and not a military post. It is also testified by Shah Nawaz Khan who records that " Saif Khan made his home at a place called Saifabad...."[4]

Raja Amar Singh of Patiala occupied the place in 1774 A.D. and in lieu of it he allotted a jagir to the descendants of Saif Khan.[5]

The Phulkian State Gazetteer of 1904 A.D. records that "The foundation of the present pakka fort was laid in 1837 by Maharaja Karm Singh, and it was completed in 8 years at a cost of Rs 10,00,000. This strong fort is surrounded by two circular walls or ramparts, the outer wall being 110 feet [33.5 m.] apart from the inner one. The outer wall which is 29 feet [8.85 m.] high is surrounded by a pakka ditch 25 feet [7.62 m.] deep and 58 feet [17.7 m.] wide. The circumference of the fort is 6890 feet or 1 mile 536 yards and 2 feet [2.1 km]. Maharaja Karm Singh gave the fort its present name in commemoration of the sacred memory of Guru Teg Bahadur...."[6]

The major portion of the fort as it survives at present, belongs to the Sikh period. Only the innermost gateway, ramparts and the mosque are the Mughal constructions. Of these, the mosque has already been described in the preceding chapter.

The gateway is in the usual style of the gateways of the Mughal serais (Plate 93). The facade of the gateway measures 14.8 m. across and rises to a height of 8.8 m. (Fig. LI). An octagonal bastion, covered with a kiosk, is appended to each end of the facade. The entrance is provided through a 4.0 m. broad arch. The passage is flanked with a 3.8 m. deep verandah,

opening into a room on its side. Each bastion also accommodates a circular room. One flight of steps on either side of the gateway approaches its top. All the arches used have a cusped profile.

The aforesaid inscription appears on the facade of the gateway.

At present, the fort is occupied by the Punjab Armed Police.

(B) Private Residences

Chhatta Mukand Das at Narnaul (District Mohindergarh)

In local parlance, the building is called Birbal ka Chhatta. Local inhabitants are of the view that originally, here was situated a group of six buildings, including the present one. Hence the name, Chhatta.

This four-storeyed mansion was erected by Rai Mukand, a mansabdar during the reign of Shah Jahan.[7] He also built a sarai for travellers in the town.[8]

The plain high enclosing walls of this mansion fail to give any idea of this dexterously planned and decorated stately residence. The building stands on a high platform having rooms in it. A flight of steps built in the western wall of the platform leads to a terrace on the first floor. Here is a lofty gateway, facing west (Plate 94). It has a four-centred arch with a fringe of stylised spearheads on the intrados, a device familiar in north Indian Muslim architecture since Khalji times. The ceiling of the gateway is adorned with stalactites, moulded in stucco. This gateway leads to a courtyard surrounded with rooms and large verandahs and a hammam. A platform rises in the midst of the courtyard. From this courtyard, one can approach all other floors

including the _tahkhana_ which consists of dark and cool rooms. One of them also has tanks and water-chutes in it. It might have been a cosy retreat during the tropical summer . The ceilings of most of the rooms were made of wood and that is why most of them gave way long ago. Some parts of the building bear traces of painted decoration also. Marble has been profusely used for pillars.

On the wide terrace of the first floor is a well which supplied water to the hammam.

To the west of this imposing dwelling is an isolated gateway provided with balconies and clad in a marble veneer. Also it bears traces of painted decoration. This gateway is said to have been the main entrance to the complex.

Regarding the over-all style of this manor, the present scholar agrees with G. Yazdani who notes that " The building is not at all in the style that was prevalent at the time (of Shah Jahan) there. It is much like a building of Akbar's time. The outlines are Muhammedan, but the details are purely Hindu." 9 The mansion exhibits a harmonious synthesis of the Hindu and the Mughal elements.

<u>Haveli of Todar Mal at Sirhind (District Patiala)</u>

This _haveli_ is the only specimen of the domestic architecture of the Mughal nobles, surviving in the present state of the Punjab, although it is in utter ruins. But for its enclosing walls, not much is extant. The _haveli_ is filled with debris and wild growth.

The main building covers an area of 28.0 m. by 12.5 m. (Plate 95). It is enclosed by high walls having rows of sunken panels.

Attached to it is a small block of rooms, perhaps, originally a hammam. The main building comprised two blocks of rooms having a courtyard in between. The entrance to the haveli was from the eastern side. The entrance arch has a chhajja above it, supported on corbelled brackets. There is a tank in front, measuring 6.0 m. by 5.8 m.

The whole building was plastered in its pristine condition. Traces of some painted decoration (particularly a vase and flowers motif) are still visible on the northern wall.

The arches used for openings are large in span and almost flat-headed which indicates the date of its erection not earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century.

Cunningham refers to the building as "The Haveli of Sahabat Beg or Sandik Beg."[10] But popularly, it is known as the Haveli of Raja Todar Mal or Jahazi Haveli.

In the Maathir-ul-Umara, we come across one Raja Todar Mal who was appointed the Diwan, Amin and Faujdar of the sarkar of Sirhind in the thirteenth year of Shah Jahan's reign.[11] The next year, the charge of the Faujdari of Lakhi Jangal was added to it.[12] His rank continued to swell throughout the reign of Shah Jahan. After the battle of Samugarh when Dara Shikoh, during his flight, reached Sirhind, he took Rs 20,00000 of the Raja's property which were buried in various places.[13] Todar Mal had already retired to the Lakhi Jangal nearby .[14] He died in the ninth year of Aurangzeb's reign, i. e., in 1076 A.H.(the year began the 4th July, 1665).[15] During Aurangzeb's reign, he was , for a time, in charge of the Faujdari of Itawa.[16]

Nothing is known about Sahabat Beg or Sandik Beg.

(C) Pleasure Pavilions

<u>Jal Mahal at Narnaul (District Mohindergarh)</u>

The Jal Mahal or the 'water palace' stands outside the city, near the tomb of Shah Quli Khan. This double-storeyed structure is, picturesquely situated amidst a large tank (Plate 96). It is connected to the mainland by means of a 5.9 m. broad causeway on arches which is preceded by a simple gateway, 14.0 m. broad and 8.4 m. deep (Fig. LIX). On either side of the passage is a 6.2m broad and 3.2 m. deep verandah. The causeway leads to a square platform of 26.3 m. side on which stands the Jal Mahal.

The palace is a square building of 17.0 m. side, comprising a central square room of 5.9 m. side having a 3.9 m. deep verandah on all the four sides. There is a double-storeyed square room of 2.5 m. side in each corner. The parapet is marked by a deep <u>chhajja</u>. At each corner of the building is installed a square cupola of 2.5 m. side and supported on octagonal sandstone pillars. In the centre of the roof is an octagonal platform of 3.1 m. side and 1.5 m. high, approached by steps and covered by an octagonal cupola of 1.85 m. side It was used, perhaps, to sit on and to enjoy the cool air and the vista of the tank. Besides this practical use, these pavilions provided the building with an interesting skyline. The same type of superstructure is seen on the Vikaram Mahal in the Gwalior Fort[17] and Diwan-i-khas at Fatehpur Sikri.

Comparing the plan of the Jal Mahal with those of the tombs of Ustad and Shagird at Sirhind or the tomb of Jamal Khan at Ropar, it appears more or less the same. It has been rightly remarked that Muslim architecture had a limited vocabulary of

buildings which could be used for various purposes. The same type of building could serve for a tomb as well as for a palace.

The whole building is covered with plaster having the smoothness of marble.

The domical ceiling of the central room had graceful designs painted in harmonious colours, traces of which are extent. The ceilings of the verandahs also bear traces of painted decoration. The facade is adorned with geometrical designs rendered in Indian red colour. Stalactites appear on the ceiling of the central room.

This palace bears two inscriptions, one over the main doorway and the second in the north verandah. G. Yazdani's translations of the inscriptions run as follows:[18]

I. Inscription over the main doorway

"(1) This pleasant building which is the envy of Iram,[19] its water and air are refreshing like Paradise.

"(2) It is built in the reign of Akbar, the victorious, the king who has placed his foot on the heads of the kings of the world.

"(3) As Shah Quli Khan has laid its foundations, O God. make it durable like the palace of the highest heaven.

"(4) The far sighted Wisdom, for the date of its foundation, said, 'This was built in the year 999 A.H." (the year began the 20th October, 1590).

II. Inscription in the north verandah

"(1) Jamshed in dignity, Shah Quli Khan, the honour of the country, he who has carried away the ball of valour from his rivals:

"(2) Generous like the ocean, grave like the mountain, of exalted rank; a second Rustam[20] and the Hatim Tai[21] of this time:

victorious in the battle and prosperous in the day of entertainment.

"(4) He has built a tank which is a second Kausar and a palace like the garden of Iram in the middle of it.

"(5) The water of immortality gives an idea of its water, and the pleasant air of Paradise is a specimen of its air.

"(6) O God! Keep it safe from the vicissitudes of time, so that he may sit in joy and exaltation in this house.

"(7) I enquired of wisdom about the date of its completion; the reply,' the house of Grace', came to the ear of my soul. 1001 A.H." (the year began the 28th September, 1592).

A medieval traveller Abdul Latif Al-Abbassi, in his Safarnama gives a good account of the buildings at Narnaul. He writes that Shah Quli Khan built a big tank outside the city on the imagined model of the Hauz-i-kausar, i.e., the Tank of Paradise and also built a beautiful building in its midst which can be called Roza-i-Rizwan, i.e., the Garden of Paradise.[23] He went to the extent of placing them, in quality, even further to the Hauz-i-kausar and the nector (Aab-Haiwan).[24] He adds that "Quli Khan built a beautiful garden also near this tank and the palace within."[25] Dr. Mulk Raj Anand misread the account and wrote that the said garden had been laid out around this Jal Mahal.[26] But, obviously, Latif referred to the garden which once surrounded the tomb of Shah Quli Khan.

Rang Mahal at Buria (District Ambala)

The palace is a double-storeyed building situated to the northwest of the village (Plate 97).

Its ground floor comprises a square room of 4.3 m. side,

surrounded with eight rooms of various sizes, forming a sort of circumambulatory around it. In the midst of the central room stands a thick pillar of 2.8 m. circumference, supporting the ceiling. Most probably, this pillar is a later addition as it is totally out of proportion with the dimensions of the room in which it stands.

Two flights of steps approach the upper storey which repeats almost the same plan. The difference is that the rooms have slightly domical ceilings whereas on the ground floor they are flat and there is no piller in the central room as is seen on the ground floor.

Once again, two flights of steps lead to the roof in the middle of which is a 0.6 m. high square platform of 6.0 m. side. Here, the staircases are covered with simple structures, each topped by two small domes.

The building stands on a raised platform. On two sides of the platform, there are two square tanks of 4.2 m. side. The structure is provided with straight as well as slanting ventilators so that every drought of air is bound to pass through the palace, cooling it.

The whole building was plastered with a fine quality of <u>chunam</u> (lime). Some of its portions still retain a marble-like lusture. The walls of the rooms are relieved with sunken panels.

The building boasts of some most attractive painted designs. All the nine rooms on the ground floor bear painted ornament. The motifs include pot and flowers, vase and flowers, plain and arabesque borders, cypress and date trees and flowering tree (Plate 98).

But the most interesting feature is the appearance of animate motifs which include fairies, elephants, peacocks and other birds (Plate 99). The colours used are viridian, yellow ochre, blue and two shades of red. Some designs have been formed without using colours. In such designs, the upper snow white plaster layer has been scrapped to reveal the lower slightly brownish ground.

On the upper storey, only three rooms have paintings and the rest have merely colour borders.

Exterior walls also bore painted decoration which could not withstand the ravages of the elements. However, one panel depicting a lady with a peacock can still be seen, though not clearly, on the northern corner of the western wall. The lady is dressed in red and viridian. Some traces of geometrical and floral designs are also extant.

H.H. Cole ascribes its construction to Shah Jahan who, he says, though without substantial basis, built it in 1630 A.D.[27] A local tradition recorded in a Gazetteer, has it that it was built by Jahangir who used to sojourn here on his way to his favourite hunting grounds at Kalesar.[28] The depiction of animate motifs on the building weighs in favour of Jahangir because zoomorphic decoration is virtually non-existant on the buildings of Shah Jahan.[29]

At present, the building has developed wide cracks in its walls and ceilings and village lads use it to play hide and seek.

(D) Madrassas

Madrassa at Thanesar (District Kurukshetra)

The madrassa sits adjoining the southern wall of the tomb

of Sheikh Chilli and forms part of the complex (Plate 100). It has been built at a level, six meter lower than the tomb platform. The enclosure of the madrassa is exactly the same in size as that of the tomb, i.e., 53 m. square from the outside. Though there is a gateway in the southwest corner, its main entrance is on the eastern side, approached by a flight of steps, rising with a gentle slope from the main road.

An arcade of nine openings on all sides, encloses a courtyard 35.8 m. by 37.5 m. in area. These arches open into rooms of various sizes and shapes and halls. An opening in the back wall of the hall on the northern side leads to the crypt of the tomb of Sheikh Chilli. Three central arches on the western side form the mosque. In the southeast corner is a complex of rooms which perhaps used to be a hammam originally.

In the midst of the courtyard is a square tank of 8.2 m. side.

This madrassa is a brick structure. But General Cunningham says," The building is formed entirely of the spoils of Hindu temples, the arcades being supported on plain Hindu pillars."[30] But the statement is not true and one can agree with Rodgers who opines that the General's note was intended perhaps for the <u>Pathriya Masjid</u> nearby.[31]

Nothing is known about the date of erection of the madrassa. However, the fact that the main approach to the tomb lies through the madrassa, confirms the view that both the buildings were erected conjointly about 1650 A.D.[32]

David Ross at the time of his visit in 1881-82 A.D., found the Hindu and the Muhammadan children learning Gurmukhi (Punjabi) and Persian in this madrassa.[33]

(E) Gateways

In all, there are two isolated gateways in the region under study. The buildings they served as entrances have disappeared. Both of these lie in the district of Rohtak, one in the city proper and the other in the nearby town of Jhajjar.

<u>Gateway at Jhajjar</u>

Gateway of Rustam Khan is the name of the structure at Jhajjar (Plate 101). It is a 5.2 m. broad and 3.7 m. deep structure rising to a height of 7.3 m. It has a battlemented parapet. The entrance arch is 2.4 m. broad which is contained in a larger arch. The spandrels of both the arches are inlaid with red sandstone whereas the gateway itself is made of large and small courses of <u>kankar</u> blocks. Each spandrel of the larger arch has a projected boss whereas that of the smaller arch has a circular religious inscription. Above the lower arch is an inscription of two lines which as translated by P. Horn runs thus:[34]

"I testify that there is no God but God alone, who has no companion; and I testify that Muhammad is His servant and His apostle.

"The date of the gateway of Rustam Khan, son of Muhammad Khan Sarbani (is) 1029." (the year began the 28th November, 1619).

P. Horn, on the basis of <u>Wakiat-i-Jahangiri</u>, gives the following information about Rustam Khan:[35]

"Jahangir elevated the builder from a commander of 60 to a chief of 5000 foot and 4000 horse and named him Rustam Khan; besides he bestowed upon him the Government of Gujarat. He put much confidence in him and placed him in 1032 (A.H.) as general

under the command of Prince Parwez, after he had abandoned the service of the rebel Prince Shahjahan."

But the above information refers to Rustam Khan Shaghali about whom much more is given in the Maathir-ul-Umara.[36] But the person mentioned in the inscription is Rustam Khan Sarwani. Most probably, he was a different man about whom nothing is known but for the fact that he also built a mosque at Jhajjar in 1035 A.H. (the year began the 23rd September, 1625) known as Shaikhonwali Masjid.[37] The mosque is not extant.

Gateway at Rohtak

The gateway at Rohtak is situated in the locality known as Muhalla Wazir Khan and is locally known as Dhobion ka Darwaza or the washermen's gateway (Plate 102).

It is a 8.3 m. broad structure rising to a height of 5.6 m. In its pristine condition, it rose 1.9 m. higher but its parapet crumbled long ago. The entrance arch is 3.2 m. broad and 0.8 m. thick and is contained in a larger arch. On either side of the entrance is a vertical row of three sunken panels. The spandrels of the main arches and the sunken panels are filled with red sandstone. The rest of the gateway is made of kankar. Each spandrel of the larger arches has a projected boss made of kankar. A carved flower adorns each spandrel and apex of the decorative arches in sunken panels. A similar carving also appears on the apex of the main arches. Above the lower arch is an inscription which as translated by P. Horn runs thus:[38]

"With the favour of God Almighty and His apostle, the erection of this building in the time of the reign

"And the Khalifat of Abu-l Fath Shihab addin Muhammad, the

second Sahib-qiran (Timur)

"Shahjahan Badishah-i-Ghazi - may God perpetuate his kingdom! - by the endeavour of the slave of the...

"Pir Khan, son of Sarkhan, the Sarwa[ni ?] has been finished. In the beginning of the month Muharram A. 1044" (the month began the 17th June, 1634).

Rodgers gives the name of the father of the builder as Sher Khan.[39]

No other information about the builder of the gateway is available.

(F) Baolis

Baolis or stepwells were built all over the northern India much before the advent of the Mughals.[40] These "are found wherever the wells are deep and the water far from the surface."[41] Baolis were more popular in Gujarat where these were treated more artistically than they were treated anywhere else.[42] At Ahmadabad, there are several baolis "ornamented with pillars and galleries to as great an extent as some of the largest buildings above ground."[43] The artisans of Gujarat introduced this particular form of structure in Mughal architecture as a cool retreat[44] as to dwell on all sides of a cool body of water in subterranean rooms must have been a heaven indeed.

Some baolis erected during the Mughal period also exist in the region under study. Of these, the baolis at Narnaul and Mehm are the best preserved specimens.

Baoli at Narnaul (District Mohindergarh)

The baoli at Narnaul forms part of a complex given the

appellation of Mirza Ali Jan ka Takht or the throne of Mirza Ali Jan[45] (Plate 103). Though the baoli bears two inscriptions, these are affixed at such inaccessible places that the present scholar could not get their readable photographs even with a tele-lens. However, the name Akbar Padshah is quite clear on one of these. Therefore, the construction of the baoli took place in between 1556 and 1604 A.D.

Breadthwise, the structure measures 13.4 m. The gateway to the baoli is a double-storeyed, 11.0 m. high structure, surmounted with an open, pillared pavilion, covering an area of 6.9 m. by 2.5 m. One long inscription runs along the parapet of this pavilion. Each pillar of the pavilion, measuring 0.36 m. square and bearing shallow carvings, is made of black stone. The rest of the complex is made of rubble. Only a carved band of red sandstone appears at the parapet of the pavilion. The baoli extends to a length of 37.0 m. At its southern end, there is an octagonal well of 3.0 m. side. Currently, there are only two storeys of arcades visible below ground level. The rest lies dipped in the thick and murky green waters of the baoli.

In front of the gateway of the baoli there is an octagonal tank of 3.0 m. side, 1.3 m. deep, having a fountain in its midst. From here extended a small garden, measuring 44.4 m. by 12.1 m. What survives of this garden is two water chutes formed by receding layers of stone. In its pristine condition, the whole must have been imposing.

Baoli at Mehm (District Rohtak)

The best and the finest preserved baoli in the region under

study is the one at Mehm.[46] (Plate 104). The British traveller Peter Mundy appraised it as "a monument of public utility worthy of munificence of a Roman Emperor."[47]

This brick and kankar structure descends in three stages. The first stage, at a depth of 4.3 m. from ground level, is reached after traversing a flight of sixteen steps. From here, an equal number of steps leads to the second stage, 4.6 m. deeper than the first. Here, a flight of twenty seven steps descends 6.3 m. deeper where there is an arched gateway. It has rectangular recesses in its sides. After descending four steps, hence-forward, all is submerged. At present, the water level is 15.2 m. below ground level.

All the previous levels are rectangular whereas the last one is a 6.7 m. square in shape. Adjoining it is the round shaft of the well forming the southern end of the structure. Close to the well are said to have been some sets of rooms.[48] Besides the main flight of stairs, two subsidiary staircases in the thickness of the walls also give access to the landings.

A raised platform with a tank on its either side, marks the well on the ground level. The well has an inscription stone. The English rendering of its text runs thus:[49]

"In the name of the Merciful and compassionate God. In the reign of the king of kings, conqueror of the world, this spring of Paradise was dug by Saidu. When I searched for its date from the sage, he replied, 'The water of charity floweth ever.' 1069."[50] (the year began the 19th September, 1658)

History is silent about Saidu, the builder of the baoli. Traditionally, he is believed to have been a mace-bearer to Shah Jahan.[51]

Near the baoli, there were two wells, each of which had an inscription stone in it.[52] One of them was filled up and the other is extant to the northeast of the baoli. The inscription stone is still in situ but the inscription has been deleted by atmospheric ravages.

There was one more baoli in the same town. This baoli existed, though not in a good condition, till the first decade of the present century.[53] But only its well made of kankar is extant and is being used for irrigation. This baoli also had an inscription, according to which it had been built in 1054 A.H. (the year began the 29th February, 1644) by Darab Khan of Mehm under the orders of Prince Dara Shikoh.[54]

Baoli at Sarai Amanat Khan (District Amritsar)

Within the present state of the Punjab, there are three Mughal baolis. Of these, the baoli at Sarai Amanat Khan is in a comparatively better condition. Locally known as Sarad-khana or a'cool resort', it is situated to the west of the sarai (Plate 105).

The section of the baoli containing stairs is 11.3 m. long at the end of which is a well of 8.0 m. diameter. The most of this portion is covered with debris and wild growth. At the northern end of the baoli is a double-storeyed structure. It comprises three inter-connected rooms on the ground floor and the same number of rooms on the upper storey . The northern facade of the building has a large recess covered with a four-centred arch and is contained in a square frame-work. The recess is pierced with three arches, each giving access to one of the rooms. Each room measures 1.8 m. square. The central room opens onto the

stairs on the southern side. The upper-storey rooms are approached by a flight of stairs on the southern side. All the rooms have domical ceilings, supported on corbelled pendentives. Stalactites appear on the soffits of the half-domes in the side recesses of the central room.

The baoli does not bear any inscription but most probably, it was built contemporaneously with the sarai nearby , during the perood 1627-65 A.D.

Baoli at Doraha (District Ludhiana)

It is situated to the south of the sarai. It is in an advanced stage of decay.

It is more than 46.0 m. in length, including its well of 7.5 m. diameter at its southern end. From north, a nine meter broad staircase gently descends to water level which is very high at present. Adjoining the well is a 4.0 m. square room having a 2.5 m. deep recess in its either side. Through the facing wall of the room, three arched openings look into the well shaft. Bushes and creepers festoon the crumbling masonry.

Most probably, it was erected contemporaneously with the sarai for the benefit of travellers.

Baoli at Kanech (District Ludhiana)

The baoli is situated outside the village, in the fields. It is in a ruinous condition.

The baoli is about 42.0 m. long. The main flight of steps descends only in two stages and gives access to a square room of 4.0 m. side, having a 2.5 m. deep recess in sides and a 3.3 m. deep porch in front. One subsidiary stairway also descends from

the roof into the porch. The back wall of the room opens into the well shaft of 8.5 m. diameter. On the exterior, the well is in the middle of an octagonal platform, approached by three steps on each side. At the end of the platform is a small tank into which water flowed from the well through a 0.6 m. broad channel.

Rodgers arbitrarily fixes the date of construction of the baoli during the Sikh period.[55] But most probably, it was situated on the Badshahi road from Agra to Lahore and was erected during the Mughal period to supply drinking water to travellers.

(G) Tanks

Tanks were dug to store rain water or water from some other channel in the areas far from rivers or springs, for future use. Such tanks were usually lined with brick or stone and were provided with bathing ghats. Four tanks constructed during the Mughal period (1526-1707 A.D.) have survived in the region under study.

Tank of Shamsher Khan at Batala (District Gurdaspur)

A large tank built by Shamsher Khan[56], during the reign of Akbar, exists to the north of his own tomb at Batala (Plate 106). It is extended over an area of 238 m. by 218 m. Both of its corners on the southern side are chamfered making it hexagonal in shape. A flight of seven steps extends along its southern bank and chamfered corners. A bathing ghat occupies the middle of this side. The tank was filled through the sluices provided on the eastern side. In the centre of the tank stands a pavilion which could be

approached only by a boat. This pavilion was not a part of the original plan but was later constructed by Maharaja Sher Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.[57]

Tanks at Jhajjar (District Rohtak)

Outside the town of Jhajjar on the road to Delhi, is a small tank locally called Buwawala Talab. It is said to have been built by Kalal Khan, a mace-bearer to Jahangir, in 1035 A.H.[58] (the year began the 23rd September, 1625). The name of Kalal Khan appears in the inscription on the nearby mosque, built by him in 1039 A.H. (the year began the 11th August, 1629).[59]

The tank covers an area measuring 67 m. by 60 m. According to a published Report, "there are four wells within the tank, on account of which the water in it never dries up."[60] There are two separate ghats for men and women to bathe in. The building material used for the tank is kankar.

To the north of the same town is another tank, locally known as Shah Kamal Gazi's tank. It measures 127 m. by 124 m., about four times in area than the preceding one. On its side is a large ghat, once flanked by two octagonal towers, in the southern one of which, there was an inscription.[61] The inscription is not extant but its contents have come down to us through P. Horn's translation which runs as follows:[62]

"In the time of the king Nuraddin the tank, which has scarcely its like, became a sign

"Of Rai Rayan Rai Darghal [perhaps Durga Mal], for the benefit of the happiness of the people of the world.

"I asked the mind the date-year; the mind spoke to me '*Know*

it in ghaluy?'

"(I) the poor hermit 'Abd as-Samad, the son of Mankam, who is a master of knowledge.

"The year was 1036" (the year began the 12th September, 1626).

The name of Abd as-Samad also appears in an inscription on the tomb of Ismail, in the same town. Most probably, he was the composer of both the inscriptions.[63]

Tank at Taraori (District Karnal)

The construction of the tank at Taraori along with the sarai nearby, is traditionally attributed to Aurangzeb who built the tank, sarai and a walled-in garden in the town to commemorate the birth of his son Azam Shah here.[64]

The tank measures 139 m. square having its angles chamfered. A flight of five stairs all around is still visible. The middle of each side is marked with a 9.6 m. broad ghat.

(H) Bridges

The Mughals knew the value of bridges to their network of roads. In his Memoirs , Jahangir ordered that convenient bridges be erected across the passage of every river so that the illustrious traveller might be enabled to pursue his object without obstruction.[65] Various types of bridges were built depending upon the availability of the building material and the span to be vaulted. Temporary bridges, made of wood, rope and most often of boats were put up for economy, of both time and money. Permanent bridges built of brick or stone were erected across highways only.

Six Mughal bridges in various states of preservation survive

within the region under study.

Bridges at Sultanpur Lodi (District Kapurthala)

The remains of two bridges, which once spanned Kalna or Kali Veni river at Sultanpur Lodi are situated to the north of the Mughal serai in the town. One of them is situated just opposite the Bus Stand. Only four of its arches on the southern bank, spreading over a length of 37.0 m., are extant. The breadth of each of its arches and piers is 3.4 m. and 3.1 m. respectively. Each pier has been relieved of its dead weight by a one meter broad arch, providing an overflow for high water. The arches carried a 8.6 m. broad roadway.

When most of the arches of this bridge collapsed, a more ambitious structure was raised a little lower down the river. In its original form, it must have been an effective and attractive structure. Even in its present condition, it does not fail to impress the viewer (Plate 107). The total span of this plastered brickwork bridge was about 218.5 m. The middle arches of this bridge also met the same fate as those of the previous one, leaving an unspanned gap of 90.0 m. At present, seven of its arches are extant on the southern bank (spanning 85.5 m.) and three on the opposite side (spanning 43.0 m.). The shape of the arches is pointed. Each pier is buttressed with a wedge-shaped cut-water. But the breadth of the arches, piers and the road above are 3.9 m., 3.8 m. and 8.8 m. respectively in the southern section and 2.5 m., 2.5 m. and 9.5 m. in the northern portion. So obviously, one of the two sections was a later addition.

Accounting for the destruction of the above bridges, Cunningham

comments, " (The bridges were) built on well foundations; but as the piers had the same thickness as the span of the arches, one half of the waterway was obstructed, and the river, like Virgil's pontem indignatus Araxes, soon made a way for itself by cutting away the bank at one end of the bridge."[66] But the causation does not appear convincing. There are at least two other bridges, one spanning the Buddhiawala Nala at Khwaza Sarai (District Faridabad) and the other near Karnal, where the piers have the same thickness as the span of the arches. Both of them stand in an excellent state of preservation. Moreover, the piers of the first bridge at Sultanpur Lodi were also pierced with arches which eased the pressure of suddenly backed up water. Then, why was always the northern portion of the bridges washed away?

It appears that the river took an inward turn at this place which gave its current more thrust along its northern bank. When the northern section of the first bridge was washed away, the second structure was erected. Again, the northern section might have met the same fate. Then, it was substituted with arches and piers of smaller dimensions. Even this could not hold its own and came down leaving only three of its arches.

Tradition attributes the construction of the first bridge to Jahangir and the second one to Aurangzeb.[67] The present scholar has not come across any evidence either corroborating or contradicting the tradition.

Bridge at Sirhind (District Patiala)

One of the extant Mughal bridges, in perfect order spans the

chos at Sirhind (Plate 108). This bridge is situated one kilometer to the northwest of the Aam Khas Bagh, on the road to Morinda. The main road still passes across it.

It consists of three parts. The eastern part has three pointed arches having rounded cut-waters. It is 21.3 m. long and 12.6 m. broad. The central portion is 27.7 m. long and consists of five arches. A flight of steps at each end of this portion lands down to water level. On each side of the passage are six octagonal towers. The western section extends over a length of 43.3 m. but its arches which are four in number, cover a length of 24.8 m. only. On one side of the road are five pillars. Perhaps, these were also there on the other side but crumbled later. Some people attribute the construction of the bridge to Jahangir and others to Shah Jahan.[68] However, nothing can be said conclusively.

Bridge near Dakhini Sarai (District Jalandhar)

A bridge once conducted the Badshahi Road from Agra to Lahore, across the Dhauli Veni river to the east of the Dakhini Sarai.[69] The ruins of five arches are extant. The span of each arch is 4.6 m. Each pier is 5.5 m. broad and is provided with triangular cut-waters . An 8.25 m. broad road, flanked with a 0.75 m. broad parapet, passed over it. But later the river changed its course and the bridge lies derelict in the fileds. This bridge is believed to have been erected during the reign of Shah Jahan.[70]

Bridge at Thanesar (District Kurukshetra)

A small bridge, merely 22.5 m. long, exists, though in a ruinous form, to the northeast of the tomb of Sheikh Chilli at

Thanesar. Its roadway was carried on four arches, each 3.5 m. broad. Each of the piers having circular cut-waters, is 2.2 m. broad. A 5.7 m. broad passage passed over it. Perhaps, originally Saraswati river flowed under it. Nothing is known about the date of its construction.

Bridge at Khwasa Sarai (District Faridabad)

This bridge spans the Buddhiawala Nala, at a distance of about one kilometer to the east of the G.T. Road (Plate 109). This 25.0 m. long and 4.3 m. broad bridge consists of three four-centred arches. The span of each arch is 4.3 m. which is supported on piers of a bit smaller width (4.2 m.). The central arch is slightly higher than those on the sides. The piers have no cut-waters. On each end of the northern pier of the central arch stands a kos-minar-like tower, topped with a fluted dome.

This bridge made of rubble is in an excellent state of preservation.[71] Nothing is known about the date of its construction.

(I) Kos-Minars

Kos-minars served as beacons for caravans. The travellers could compute the distance they had traversed with the help of these kos-minars. The kos-minars were in use in India even before the Mughal rule. Ibn Batuta witnessed such towers during the fourteenth century.[72] Babur erected square towers twelve qaris[73] high, every eighteen miles.[74] Akbar is said to have built kos-minars on the road from Agra to Ajmer.[75]

In 1619 A.D., Jahangir ordered Baqir Khan, the Faujdar of Multan to erect kos-minars from Agra to Lahore.[76] At least seventy-five of these survive to this day,[77] partly due to the fact that these were repaired by the inhabitants, from time to

time, as an act of public welfare.[78]

Kos-minars are brick structures, covered with plaster (Plate 110). Each minar soars from a tapering octagonal base which rises nearly half of its total height. Hence-forward, it becomes a tapering circular pillar, rounded at the top. The octagonal base is separated from the circular portion by a moulding, above which runs a band of colour. A similar band of colour and a moulding is also there, below the spherical top. These *kos-minars* were uninscribed.

FOOTNOTES

1. Punjab Notes and Queries, Vol. I, No.2, August, 1884, p. 129.

2. For a brief account of Saif Khan, see pp. 151-52 of the thesis.

3. In Patiala and its Historical Surroundings (Patiala, Rep. 1969, p. 24) the date is given as 1077 A.H. which is not correct.

4. Nawab Samsam-ud-daula Shah Nawaz Khan, The Maathir-ul-Umara, Vol. II, tr. H. Beveridge, Patna, n.d., p. 686.

5. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, Mahan-kosh, Punjabi, Patiala, Rep. 1981, p. 827.

6. Phulkian State Gazetteer(1904), Lahore, 1909, p. 186.

7. For a brief account of Mukand Das see p. 70 of the thesis.

8. For a description of the sarai see pp. 69-70 of the thesis.

9. G. Yazdani, "Narnaul and its Buildings", Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1907), N.S. Vol. III, Calcutta, 1908, p. 583.

10. Alexander Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol.II, Delhi, Rep. 1972, p. 211.

11. Shah Nawaz Khan, op. cit., p. 957.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p. 958.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. R. Nath, History of Mughal Architecture, Part I, Delhi, 1982, pp. 20-22 & Plate XX.

18. Yazdani, op. cit., pp.641-42.

19. The celebrated but fabulous garden, said to have been anciently made in Arabia Felix by a king named Shahdad bin' Ad or Iram bin Omad. (Ibid.)

20. A legendary hero of Persia.

21. A famous Arabian chief of the tribe Tai, celebrated for his liberality, wisdom and valour.

22. A heavenly reservoir.

23. N.D. Ahuja, " Abdal Latif Al-Abbasi and his Safarnama", _Proceedings of Punjab History Conference_ (Eighth Session, 1973), Patiala, n.d., p. 73.

24. _Ibid_.

25. _Ibid_., p. 74.

26. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand,"Haryana Heritage", _Marg_, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, Bombay, September, 1974, p. 32.

27. _List of Some Ancient and other Native Architectural Buildings in India_, Simla, 1880, p. 11.

28. _Ambala District Gazetteer_ (1923-24), Lahore, 1925, p. 145.

29. R. Nath, _History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture_, Delhi, 1976, p. 124.

30. Cunningham, _op. cit_., p. 222.

31. Charles J. Rodgers, _Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for the year 1888-89_, Calcutta, 1891, p. 10.

32. Cunningham, _loc. cit_.

33. David Ross, _The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh_, Patiala, Rep. 1970, p. 240.

34. P. Horn, "Muhammadan Inscriptions from the Suba of Dihli", _Epigraphia Indica_, Vol. II, Delhi, Rep. 1970, p. 134.

35. _Ibid_.

36. Shah Nawaz Khan, _op. cit_., pp. 630-31.

37. P. Horn, _op. cit_., pp. 134-35.
The inscription on the mosque which could not be deciphered fully, included the following information:
"In the time of Shah Nuraddin Jahangir, who is more exalted than the kings of the world, Rustam Khan, son of Muhammad Khan, has built it, who has not his like on the earth." The date of the completion of the building was recorded as the 10th of the month Rajab in the year 1035 (the 28th March, 1626)

38. _Ibid_., p. 147.

39. Charles J. Rodgers, _Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab_, Calcutta, 1891, p. 74.

40. R. Nath, _Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture_, Delhi, 1976, p. 23.

41. James Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, Delhi, Rep. 1967, p. 183.

42. R. Nath, Some Aspects...., op. cit., p. 23.

43. Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 239-40.

44. R. Nath, Some Aspects...., loc. cit.

45. The baoli has been declared a protected monument by the Department of Archaeology, Haryana.

46. It was declared protected by the Government of India vide notification number 4891 dated 12.12.1923. List of Protected Monuments accepted by the Government of India (corrected upto September, 1928), Simla, 1928, pp. 12-13.

47. General Mundy, Pen & Pencil Sketches, Vol. I, London, 1832, p. 354.

48. Rodgers, Revised List...., op. cit., p. 76.

49. Rohtak District Gazetteer (1910), Lahore, 1911, p. 43.

50. In the Gazetteer quoted above, the date is given as 1096 A.H. (Ibid.) Rodgers gives it to be 1067 A.H. (Revised List...., loc. cit.) But neither of the two is correct. It has been personally verified to be 1069 A.H.

51. H. Hargreaves, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1927-28), Calcutta, 1931, p. 18.

52. Rodgers, Revised List...., loc. cit.

53. Ibid. & Rohtak District Gazetteer, loc. cit.

54. Ibid.

55. Rodgers, Revised List....op. cit., p. 47.

56. Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulastut-Tawarikh, Pbi. tr. Ranjit Singh Gill, Patiala, 1972, p. 78; Punjab di Sair, Pbi. tr. Giyani Lal Singh, Patiala, 1971, p. 67 & Ganesh Das, Early Nineteenth Century Punjab, tr. J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga, Amritsar, 1975, p.137.

57. Ibid.

58. Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies, Lahore, 1875, Part II, pp. 6-7.

59. For details of the mosque and its inscription see pp. 119-20 of the thesis.

60. Objects of Antiquarian Interest...., loc. cit.

61. Rodgers, Revised List...., op. cit., p. 78.

62. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 135.

63. See p. 118 of the thesis.

64. Rodgers, Revised List..., p. 58.

65. Memoirs of Emperor Jahangeuir, tr. Major David Price, Delhi, n.d., p. 157.

66. Alexander Cunningham, Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, Rep. 1970, p. 57.

67. Ibid.

68. Local inhabitants believe that this bridge was built by Jahangir but Rodgers records that according to a tradition, it belonged to the times of Shah Jahan (Report..., op. cit., p. 7.)

69. In 1923 A.D., on the recommendation of H. Hargreaves, this bridge was declared a Protected Monument vide notification number 16721-L.S.G. dated 4th June, 1923.[John Marshall, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India(1923-24), Calcutta, 1926, p. 136 & List of Protected Monuments..., op. cit., pp. 4-5.]

70. Objects of Antiquarian Interest..., op. cit., Part IV, pp. 4-5.

71. This bridge was recommended to be declared a Protected Monument during the session 1927-28. (H. Hargreaves, op cit., pp. 190-91.) The recommendation was accepted by the Government of India vide notification number 32223 dated 20.11.1929. (List of Protected Monuments..., op. cit., pp. 12-13.)

72. Ibn Batuta di Bharat Yatra, Pbi ed., Patiala, n.d. , p.66.

73. A measurement of 24 feet or 36 feet. (Baburnama, tr. A.S. Beveridge, Delhi, Rep. 1970, p. 629, f.n. 4).

74. Ibid., pp. 629-30.

75. Al-Badaoni, Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh, Vol. II, tr. W.H. Lowe, Delhi, Rep. 1973, p. 176 & Arif Qandhari, Tarikh-i-Akbari, Rampur, 1962, p. 46 quoted by S.A.A. Rizvi & V.J.A. Flynn, Fathpur-Sikri, Bombay, 1975, p. 114.
According to Badaoni, Akbar had the stags' horns he killed, affixed to the kos-minars. He laments,"would that instead of these kos-minars he had ordered gardens and caravanserais to be made."

76. Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Book II, tr. A. Rodgers & H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1968, p. 100.

77. On the basis of the lists of the monuments declared protected by the Archaeological Survey of India; Departments of Archaeology, Punjab & Haryana, the district-wise list of extant kos-minars is as follows:

Jalandhar - 8; Ludhiana - 7; Patiala - 2; Amritsar - 3; Ambala - 1; Gurgaon - 16; Karnal - 26; Rohtak - 8. Besides these, the present scholar has witnessed five more kos-minars in Amritsar district which are not included in the said lists.

78. Captain Leopold Von Orlich, Travels in India including Sinde & the Punjab, Vol. I, London, 1845, p 270.

CHAPTER VII

GLAZED TILE DECORATION

The beginning of the Islamic period was also the beginning of a new chapter in the history of architectural ornament. Islamic art "is essentially one of decoration, for an empty surface is intolerable to the Muhammadan eye."[1] As the Islamic architecture " was produced by a world of movement and turmoil, in which artisans or objects from the whole Eurasian mass were available almost everywhere,"[2] their decoration embraced an unbelievable range of themes as well as techniques.

The decorative themes were principally vegetal, geometrical, arabesque, calligraphic and, of course, zoomorphic which was popular in areas under Turkish dominance. The techniques include decorative patterned brickwork, painting, carved and moulded stucco, coloured glass and marble mosaic, carved stone, marble and glazed tile work. All the above themes and techniques appear in Indo-Islamic architecture, too. But one technique which dominated the decorative scheme of Muslim monuments and specifically Mughal monuments in the northwestern India (which included the region under study, the west Punjab and Sind) was the glazed tile work. Sir George Birdwood thus extols the mosques embellished with glazed tiles:[3]

"But the sight of wonder is, when travelling over the plains... suddenly to come upon an encaustic tiled mosque. It is coloured all over in yellow, green, blue, and other hues, and as a distant view of it is caught at sunrise, its stately domes and

glittering minarets seem made of purest gold, like glass, enamelled in azure and green, a fairy-like apparition of inexpressible grace and the most enchanting splendor."

In India, this mode of decoration was popularly known as Kashikari and its craftsmen were called Kashigars. Both the terms owe their origin to the name of a town in Persia - Kashan, a major centre of glazed tile production in medieval times.[4] Some scholars trace the root of the above terms in the Persian word Kash i.e., glass.[5] Both the views appear equally acceptable and establish the Persian origin of the tile work in India. A tradition regarding the Chinese origin of the decorative tile work was also carried to India which accounts for such names as Chiniwali Masjid and Chini-ka-Rauza.[6]

Kushan rulers were the first to introduce this art in India.[7] Excavations near Peshawar in Afghanistan and Dal Lake in Kashmir have revealed fragments of glazed tiles dating from the beginning of the Christian era.[8] Slowly, the art seems to have gone out of fashion.

The credit for reintroducing this art in India goes to the Muslims who themselves learnt it from Persia. The region of Sind and Multan was the first to come under the influence of Persians and Arabs. So the earliest specimens of tiled buildings were erected there. The earliest example of this art is to be found in the tomb of Shah Yusuf Gardizi (1152 A.D.) at Multan.[9] But the most magnificent tile work of the period was executed on the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam in the same town, constructed in the first half of the fourteenth century.[10]

The next land to imbibe the Iranian influence was that of the Punjab. Besides the proximity of the region to Persia, another reason was its geological confirmation. Stone architecture easily lends itself to sculptural decoration. But building stone is rare in the Punjab. However, its alluvial soil could be easily moulded into fine brick . But brick structures were not suitable for carved decoration. So other modes of decoration were sought. Plastered brick walls could take painted decoration. But such decoration did not last in good condition for long due to the detrimental effect of sun and rain. When the use of glazed tiles was introduced, the builders of the land found it most suitable as it could withstand the elements and retain its colour indefinitely. Sometimes, glazed tiles were used on stone buildings also.[11] Gradually,, the Punjab became as great a centre of this craft as Sind and Multan.

Before the advent of Mughals, Sultans of Delhi made use of tiles on their buildings. Monuments erected during the Lodi period (1451-1526 A.D.) were almost invariably adorned with square blue tiles. Some notable specimens of the period are - the tomb of Bibi Subhan (Dera Mir Miran) at Sirhind (1496A.D.), the Lodi mosque at Machhiwara (1517 A.D.), the tomb of Khwaza Khizar at Sonepat (1524 A.D.) and the Sheesh Gumbad in Delhi. Of these the first two are grey sandstone structures. But the most prominent example of the period is the Madrassa of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar (1472 A.D.). Tile work on this edifice is in pure Iranian fashion.[12] Mahmud was a minister of Muhammad Shah III of the Bahmani dynasty and a Persian scholar. Not only did he bring the workmen but also the material from Iran.[14]

The fifteenth century buildings of Mandu also bear blue and yellow tiles.[15]

It is interesting to note that the best pre-Mughal building adorned with encaustic tiles is not a Muslim edifice but a Hindu temple. It is Man Mandir at Gwalior, built by Raja Man Singh (1486-1516 A.D.). Forms of elephants, ducks and makras executed in glazed tiles appear on this shrine. Babur who visited it on September 27th, 1528, extolled the decoration.[16]

The use of square tiles continued during the early Mughal period. The tomb of Maulana Jamali at Mehraulli (1529 A.D.) the Talaqi Darwaza of the Old Fort in Delhi (c. 1534 A.D.) and the tombs of the martyrs of Humayun's Gujarat campaign at Hissar (1537-38 A.D.) are significant examples of the period.

Tiles of deep and light blue, green, yellow and white colours have been used on the monuments of Akbar's reign.[17] Upto this period, tiles were used merely to add a contrasting note to the otherwise monochromatic walls.

A clear departure from this tradition is perceptible in the buildings erected during the reign of Jahangir. The chief among these are - the tomb of Ustad at Nakodar (1612 A.D.) (Plate 53) and the portals of the sarais at Fatehabad (Plate 8) and Doraha (Plate 16). In the new style, first a geometrical design was formed by projected bricks or by thin plaster ridges Then the spaces in between were inlaid with tiles of royal blue turquoise, green and yellow hues. Though the technique must have been troublesome, but the enhanced effect due to the play of light and shade is undeniable.

The tile-mosaics of Lahore Fort form a class apart.

For theological reasons, Muslims are forbidden to depict living beings either human or animal. Therefore, geometrical or floral designs predominate their decorative schemes. But the tiled panels in the Lahore Fort, covering an area of about 72, 000 square feet, depict "court officials, a goat and monkey-man, a cup-bearer, a footman carrying candle-sticks and flowers, richly caparisoned horses, a standard-bearer on an elephant, a dragon pursuing a goat, birds, camel-fights, elephant-fights, a game of polo", beribboned winged figures and many other subjects.[18] This work executed in the third decade of the seventeenth century,[19] is unique in Asia in so far as there is no other instance of glazed tiles on a Muslim building in which the designs include animate motifs.[20] V.A. Smith acclaims these as "The most remarkable series of tile pictures in the world."[21] Technically, this work is true mosaic. The following was the method of constructing a tile-mosaic:

According to W.J. Furnival,[22] the design was first drawn on paper and was then traced on the plastered surface while in a plastic state. The tiles were sawn according to the design and then embedded with the help of fine mortar.

A.U. Pope,[23] R.A. Jairazbhoy[24] and D.N. Wilber[25] describe quite a different method. In the words of Pope, "The design pattern is drawn to exact scale on heavy paper or on a smooth plaster of Paris bed, and the designer indicates the different colours needed for each element. A collection of all the tile colours, each at its most perfect tone, is then cut by chisel, rasped and fitted into small units that are placed colour downward on the pattern, cut so that there are interstices between

the units. The whole can then be covered with stiff plaster. Sections can be removed as needed and are thus quite manageable. Using such a process, the elemnts of faience mosaic do not constitute an absolutely mechanically even surface. The slightest divergence in the bed or the setting (and these divergences always occur) changes the planes of each piece so that all reflect at almost microscopically different angles, giving the whole a lively play of reflections. This is always true of mosaic faience unless a craftsmen's mistaken ambition for expensive mechanical accuracy eliminates the distinct advantage of such variations."[26]

Ronald Lewcock mentions both the techniques.[27]

The era of the finest glazed tile decoration dawns with the accession of Shah Jahan. Some scholars attribute the change to Shah Jahan's stay at Thatta when, having quarrelled with his father Jahangir, he was exiled from the court for some time.[28] But Vogel gives the credit to two powerful Persian nobles - Asaf Khan and Ali Mardan Khan, both of whom were governors of the Punjab at different times.[29]

The decoration of the period is characterised by fine workmanship, brilliancy and intricacy of design. The entire facades of buildings were divided into square or rectangular sunken panels, filled with tile mosaics. The remaining surface was usually covered with plaster painted with simulated brick pattern in red and white.

To quote J.B. Page," The designs are for the most part floral. Some are naturalistic flowering trees and herbs - irises are a favourite subject - almost filling the panel; others are more formal - vases or ewers filled with sprays of flowers -

while some areas such as the spandrels of the arches are filled with a more conventionalised floral arabesque. Geometrical designs are favoured for borders and for some panels based on the square, octagon and hexagon."[30] In each design, petals, leaves, flower-centres and shapes of background were formed by a separate single tile. Each fragment is of one colour only. The mosaics of the period exhibit a scheme of seven colours - cobalt and turquoise blue, green, orange, mustard yellow, purple and white. The lighter colours are not pure hues but tints. The effect of variegated tiles against the soft blue sky of the Punjab is enchanting and jewel-like.

The mosque of Wazir Khan at Lahore (1634 A.D.) has been described by Smith as "the most beautiful example of Kashi work on a large scale."[31] The tomb of Shagird at Nakodar (1656 A.D.) is the best preserved edifice of the style within the present boundaries of the Punjab (Plate 64). This tomb has preserved on its walls and bastions the full glory of its gorgeous tile decoration. Outside the Punjab, the masterpiece of the style is the mausoleum of Mulla Shukrulla Shirazi ay Agra (1627-39 A.D.). The glazed tile work on the tomb gave it its popular name - Chini-ka-Rauza or the tomb bearing glazed tiles.

The art retained its vigour during the reign of Aurangzeb. Graceful lettering of the sacred texts, executed in lustrous glaze, began to frame arches. Portals of Sarai Amenat Khan and its mosque are captivating specimens of the period (Plate 23). Traces of variegated tiling survive on the gateways of the Dakhini Sarai (Plate 28). The tile work here was, according to Sir John Marshall, in no way inferior to that of Lahore.[32]

The mosque of Abdul Wahab at Sadhora (1669-70 A.D.) also bore glazed tiles.[33] But now all lies hidden under thick coats of whitewash.

As the mosaic style was too complicated and hence costly and time-consuming. Gradually, there was a reversion to the easier technique of painted square tiles of standard size.

Preparation of Glazed Tiles

About the beginning of our century, Dr. Center, the Chemical Examiner to the Punjab Government, made a careful analysis of the specimens of glazed tiles and the results of his analysis are presented in his own words as follows:[34]

"It consists essentially of a layer of glass spread on hard kind of plaster - sometimes on a material porcelaneous in structure. On analysis, the glass was found to be an ordinary silicate colored by metallic oxides. The plaster was found to be composed of a misture of lime and siliceous sand, the hardness being due to silication, which accounts for its bearing the heat required to fuse glass....

"The work consists of three parts - Ist, the plaster called khamir ; 2nd, the glass called kanch; and, 3rd, a material called asthar, put between them. The first operation is to make an easily fusible glass by melting powdered siliceous sandstone with carbonate of soda. Portions of the glass are pounded, mixed and fused with metallic oxides to produce glasses of various colours. Considerable skill was shown in producing the oxides from the metals or from the raw materials of the bazar. In particular, a species of black sand got from Ajmer is used to furnish three colors - black,[35] green and blue. It contains

sulphuret of copper and magnetic iron sand. These were separated by washing according to their specific gravities, and were reduced to oxides in the furnace.

" The Khamir is made by mixing siliceous sand, lime and a quantity of the pounded glass first prepared, and according to the quantity of glass used it turns out a hard kind of mortar, or has a porcelaneous structure. It is made into a paste with rice water, and cut into pieces suitable for the pattern. It is then dried at a gentle heat, and afterwards covered with the asthar, which consists of lime or pounded glass containing a large quantity of lead. This is suspended in a viscid fluid and painted on the plaster, and its use is to cover small inequalities and to act as a medium to unite the glass and the plaster.

"The colored glasses are then pounded, suspended in a viscid fluid, made from mucilaginous plants, and painted over the asthar, and the whole is placed in the furnace till all the glass on the surface is fused. The pieces of the pattern are then put in their places and fixed by cement."

J. Burton Page has also given a similar account of this process.[36]

Henry Cousens opines that the Punjab tiles were made up "of a composition of siliceous sand with lime and other ingredients, held together with some cementing material."[37] But Percy Brown claims that "the substance of the tile was not clay but its basis appears to have been composed of disintegrated sandstone ground to a powder which when fused under certain conditions forms a kind of crude porcelain of a whitish colour thus giving a transparent quality to the glaze."[38] But Dr. R. Nath refutes

the theory in view of the overwhelming records of the preparation of tiles and glass with the help of clay, metallic oxides, chemicals and sands.[39]

According to Furnival, the oxides of copper, manganese and cobalt were used for turquoise and cobalt blue colours.[40] But Birdwood writes that "Four sikka, or oxides of lead, are known, namely, sikka safed, white oxide, the basis of most of the blues, greens, and greys used; sikka zard, the basis of the yellows; sikka sharbati, litharge; and sikka lal, red oxide."[41]

Though the glazed tiles did not form architectural elements of the structures they embellished, they were essentially 'Objects d' art' in themselves.[42] To quote Vogel again "certainly no decorative art could be devised more truely oriental in the dazzling brilliance of its colors , more bright and glowing in the splendor of an eastern sun."[43]

FOOTNOTES

1. M.S. Dimand, A Handbook of Muhammadan Decorative Arts, New York, 1958, p. 12.

2. Derek Hill & Oleg Graber, Islamic Architecture and its Decoration, London, 1964, p. 85.

3. Sir George Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, London, Rep. 1971, pp. 306-07.

4. Andre Godard, The Art of Iran, London, 1965, p. 312, f.n.4. & J.Ph. Vogel, Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort, Calcutta, 1920, p. 12.

5. Birdwood, op. cit., p. 321.

6. Vogel, op. cit., p. 15.

7. R. Nath, Colour Decoration in Mughal Architecture, Bombay, 1970, p. 7.

8. Ibid.

9. R.E.M. Wheeler, 5000 years of Pakistan, London, 1950, p. 66.

10. J. Burton Page, "Tomb of Rukn-i Alam", Splendours of the East, ed. Mortimer Wheeler, London, 1965, p. 77. & Alexander Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Report, Vol. V, Varanasi, Rep. 1966, pp. 132-33.

11. Two such monuments exist in the Punjab, namely, Mir Miran-ka-Dera at Sirhind and the Lodi Mosque at Machhiwara.

12. Satish Grover, The Architecture of India (Islamic), Delhi, 1981, p. 116.

13. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), Bombay, Rep. 1975, p. 70.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., pp. 61,62 & 64.

16. Babur, Babur-Nama, tr. A.S. Beveridge, New Delhi, Rep.1979, p. 609.

17. Vogel, op. cit., p. 8.

18. R.E.M. Wheeler, op. cit., p. 80.
According to R.A. Jairazbhoy, "There are represented dragons with 'long hornes, staring eyes, and shaggy hair' in the act of pursuing goats, pelicans in full flight, bulls engaged in mortal

combat, elephants with trunks interlocked urged by relentless mahouts, travellers leading their dromedary, equestrians shooting lions or playing polo, guards sounding the reveille, angels lassoing demons, and so on...." (An Outline of Islamic Architecture, Bombay, 1972, p. 324.)

19. Vogel, op. cit., p. 54.

20. R.E.M. Wheeler, loc. cit.

21. V.A. Smith, A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, Bombay, 1969, p. 444.

22. W.J. Furnival, Leadless Decorative Tiles, Mosaics & Faience, Staffordshire, 1904, p. 124.

23. A.U. Pope, Persian Architecture, London, 1965, pp. 168-67.

24. Jairazbhoy, op. cit., p. 192.

25. D.N. Wilber, " Persian Architecture" in Persia: History & Heritage, ed. John A. Boyle, London, 1978, p. 101.

26. Pope, loc. cit.

27. Ronald Lewcock, "Architects, Craftsmen and Builders: Materials & Techniques" in Architecture of the Islamic World, ed. George Michell, New York, 1978, p. 139.

28. R.E.M. Wheeler, op. cit., p. 73 & Henry Cousens, The Antiquities of Sind, Varanasi, Rep. 1975, p. 121.

29. Vogel, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

30. J.B. Page, "Wazir Khan's Mosque", Splendours of the East, op. cit., p. 101.

31. Smith, op. cit., p. 446.

R.E.M. Wheeler thus describes the tile work on the mosque:

"It is a riot of mosaic tilework of purely Persian type, set in a framework of unrelenting severity. The facade of the tomb-chamber, with its high square-framed central arch and the two flanking arches on each side of it, are a superb example of Persian floral decoration in which whites and blues predominate. Elsewhere, on the towers and gateway and flanking arcades, yellow, green and other colours are equally emphatic and the variety of the pattern in detail, including a range of cypress trees round an upper stage of the towers, offers unending discovery to the eye." (Op. cit., p. 86.)

For a list of the buildings at Lahore, adorned with glazed tiles, see Sajjad Haider, Tile Work in Pakistan, Islamabad, n.d. pp. 68-69 and for a list of the monuments at Lahore and Delhi decorated with tile work, see, Vogel, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

32. Sir John Marshall, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1926-27), Calcutta, 1930, p. 17.

33. Charles J. Rodgers mentions two gateways of courtyards of private dwellings at Sadhora which were erected during the reign of Jahangir (one being dated 1029 A.H.). Both of these were also covered with blue, yellow and green tiles laid in geometrical patterns. (Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for the year [illegible], Calcutta, 1891,p. 26).

34. H.R. Goulding & T.H. Thornton, Old Lahore, Lahore, 1924, pp. 86-87. This account forms the Appendix B of Vogel's Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort (Op. cit., pp. 59-60.). But the source Vogel quotes is T.H. Tornton and J.L. Kipling's Lahore (pp. 148-150). Again, Dr. R. Nath in his Colour Decoration in Mughal Architecture repeats the full account on the basis of Vogel's Appendix.(Op. cit., p. 12.)

35. Black and dark green coloured tiles are absent in India. (Vogel, op. cit., p. 13.)

36. J.B. Page, op. cit., pp. 99-101.

37. Henry Cousens, Sind Tiles, London, 1905, p. 1.

38. Percy Brown, op. cit., p. 107.

39. R. Nath, op. cit., p. 13, f.n. 78.

40. Furnival, op. cit., p. 127.

41. Birdwood, op. cit., p. 307. The author also gives a detailed account of the chemical ingredients and the technique used for making tiles. (Ibid., pp. 307-09)

42. R. Nath, op. cit., p. 9.

43. Vogel, op. cit., p.1.

APPENDIX A

SOME EXTINCT MUGHAL GARDENS IN THE PUNJAB AND HARYANA

In addition to the two gardens described in Chapter II, the present scholar came across references to eight more Mughal gardens in the region under study, of which only traces or nothing at all is extant.[1] On the basis of these references, whatever could be made out of these gardens is registered below.

Kabuli Bagh at Panipat (District Karnal)

To the northeast of the town of Panipat, there is a large mosque, locally known as Kabuli Bagh Masjid.[2] The main gate of the mosque bears an inscription, according to which Babur completed a mosque, a well and a char-bagh in the year 935 A.H. (the year began the 15th September, 1528).[3] Of this complex, only a part of the mosque is extant. Though no trace of the garden is left, one thing is evident that it was a four-part garden, divided into quadrants by water-channels. This garden was the first archetype of the splendid garden tradition in India.

Garden at Kalanaur (District Gurdaspur)

Akbar was at Kalanaur when he received the news of his father, Humayun's death at Delhi. So it was here, at Kalanaur, that he was proclaimed the emperor of Hindostan on 2nd Rabi II, 963 (14th February, 1556)[4], on a masonry platform, at present known as Takht-i-Akbari. The ceremony might have been performed in a tent and the plain brick platform erected afterwards to mark the spot. Later, gardens with wells, palaces and baths were laid out around this Takht .[5]

Jahangir records his one visit to this garden in 1619 A.D.[6] But for one well (of 5.6 m. diameter) and the Takht, this Mughal garden has disappeared completely.[7]

The Takht-i-Akbari is a simple platform of brick coated with plaster (Plate 111). It is 11.4 m. square and 0.95 m. high. A tank, 4.2 m. square and 1.4 m. deep, in the middle of the platform, added to its beauty. The water of this tank overflowed down the scalloped chutes of red-painted plaster into four miniature reservoirs at the bottom of the platform. Little flights of steps, on either side of the chutes lead on to the platform from every side except from the west. On this side is the throne, a plain brick structure with a single front step extending itself to its full length. But for a plain moulding which turns at its upper edge, there is no decoration worth the name.

Garden at Hissar

At Hissar, an inscription on a tomb behind Gaushala , to the east of the town, refers to a garden.[8] The tomb survives in good condition. But nothing virtually remains of this highly praised garden.

Garden at Narnaul (District Mohindergarh)

Shah Quli Khan laid out a garden having an imposing gateway, around his tomb in 997 A.H. (the year began the 10th November, 1588) and named it Aram-i-Kausar.[9] The tomb is still in an excellent state of preservation, but of the garden, only its gateway (Plate 38) and parts of its enclosing wall are extant.[10] The garden was spread over an area of 302 m. by 280 m. and was enclosed

by a 2.1 m. high wall of rubble masonry. It was watered from five wells, three of which are inside the enclosure and two outside it.

Garden at Nurmahal (District Jalandhar)

Emperor Jahandar Shah stayed in the garden at Nurmahal for about eight hours on 15 Rabi-ul-Sani, 1124 (11th May, 1712).[11] Cunningham saw some of the walls of an exterior court, measuring about 2000 feet square.[12] He thought that this enclosure was meant for encampment of the great mass of the imperial followers who found their quarters there, instead of the Sarai Nurmahal.[13] The surviving portions of the wall had disappeared when Cunningham visited the town in 1878-79 A.D.[14] Most probably, these walls were those of the garden at Nurmahal.

Garden at Nakodar (District Jalandhar)

During the second year of his reign, i.e., in 1608 A.D., Jahangir ordered Muizzul-Mulk, the jagirdar of Nakodar, to prepare a garden there.[15] As discussed previously, most probably, the tombs of Ustad and Shagird in the town, were situated in this garden.[16] The building to the west of the tombs was perhaps one of the gateways of the garden. At present, it is serving as a station for some Central Reserve Police Force personnel. Another surviving building of the garden has been appropriated for the Tehsil office.

Garden at Mehm (District Rohtak)

A garden existed about one and a half kilometer to the west of Mehm.[17] It was laid by Saidu Kalal, during the reign of Shah Jahan.[18] The walls of the garden were extant not very long ago.[19]

Garden at Batala (District Gurdaspur)

Amar Singh, the qanungo, had laid out a terraced garden at Batala.[20] It was in three terraces, the highest of which overlooked the tank of Shamsher Khan.[21] According to the author of the Khulastut-Tavarikh, this garden was designed in imitation of the Shalimar garden at Lahore[22] which was completed in 1642 A.D. Sujan Rai completed his Khulastut in 1696 A.D.[23] Therefore, this garden came into existence between this period. Admiring the beauty of the garden, the author adds that it attracted the gaze of the beholders by its freshness and beauty and pleased the sightseers of the town.[24] Nothing virtually remains of this garden.

FOOTNOTES

1. This appendix is a revised version of the present scholar's paper- "Some Extinct Mughal Gardens in the Punjab and Haryana", Islamic Culture, Vol. LVIII, July, 1984, pp. 251-54 & Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Vol. XXI, Hoshiarpur, June-December, 1983, pp. 240-44.

2. For details of the mosque see pp. 168-72 of the thesis.

3. Maulvi M. Ashraf Husain, " Inscriptions of Emperor Babur", Epigraphia Indica (Arabic & Persian Supplement) ,(1965), Calcutta, 1966, p. 54.
For the translation of the complete inscription, see p. 171 of the thesis.

4. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, Vol. II, tr. H. Beveridge, Delhi, Rep. 1972, p. 5.

5. Al Badaoni, Muntakhabu't Tawarikh, Vol. II, tr. W.H. Lowe, Delhi, 1973, p. 1.

6. Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Book II, tr. A. Rodgers & H. Beveridge, Delhi, Rep. 1968, p. 114.

7. The bricks obtained from their ruins supplied ballast to Pathankot-Amritsar Railway track. [Charles J. Rodgers, Revised List of the Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab, Lahore, 1891, p. 34 & Sir John Marshall, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1907-08), Calcutta, 1911, p. 32.]

8. For complete text of the inscription, see p. 198 of the thesis.

9. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, "Haryana Heritage", Marg, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, Bombay, September, 1974, p. 32 & see p. 158, f.n. 27 of the thesis.

10. For a description of the gateway, see pp. 104-05 of the thesis.

11. Dr. Bhagat Singh, "Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Maalla", The Punjab Past & Present, Vol. XVIII-II, Patiala, October, 1984, p. 112.

12. Alexander Cunningham, Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, Rep. 1970, p. 63.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Jahangir, op. cit., Book I, p. 136.

16. Also see p. 130 of the thesis.

17. Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab & its Dependencies, Lahore, 1875, Part II, pp. 8-9.

18. Ibid. (A large baoli built by Saidu is extant in the town. For its details, see pp. 221-23 of the thesis).

19. The present scholar visited the town a number of times. Most of the inhabitants of the town testify the previous existence of this enclosing wall.

20. J.N. Sarkar, India of Aurangzeb, Calcutta, 1901, p. xxxvii.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Sujan Rai Bhandari, Khulastut Tawarikh, tr. Ranjit Singh Gill, Patiala, 1972, p. ix.

24. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 85.

APPENDIX B

DISTRICT-WISE LIST OF EXTANT MUGHAL MONUMENTS IN THE PUNJAB & HARYANA

Punjab

<u>District Amritsar</u>

Sarai at Fatehabad

Jama Masjid at Fatehabad

Tomb at Nurdin

Sarai Amanat Khan

Tomb at Sarai Amanat Khan

Baoli at Sarai Amanat Khan

Eight kos-minars

<u>District Gurdaspur</u>

Mosque at Bahrampur

Tomb of Shamsher Khan at Batala

Jama Masjid at Batala

Tank of Shamsher Khan at Batala

Tomb of Jamil Beg at Kalanaur

Takht-i-Akbari at Kalanaur

<u>District Jalandhar</u>

Dakhini DSarai near Mahlian Kalan

Mughal Bridge near Mahlian Kalan

Tomb of Ustad at Nakodar

Tomb of Shagird at Nakodar

Sarai at Nurmahal

Tomb of Fateh Ali Shah at Nurmahal

Eight kos-minars

District Kapurthala

Sarai at Sultanpur Lodi

Tomb at Sultanpur Lodi

Two bridges at Sultanpur Lodi

One kos-minar

District Ludhiana

Tomb of Hussain Khan at Bahlolpur

Tomb of Bahadur Khan at Bahlolpur

Tomb of Alawal Khan at Bahlolpur

Tomb of Daud Khan at Bahlolpur

Sarai at Doraha

Baoli at Doraha

Baoli at Kanech

Sarai Lashkar Khan

Seven kos-minars

District Patiala

Tomb of Saif Khan at Bahadurgarh

Mosque of Saif Khan at Bahadurgarh

Fort at Bahadurgarh

Sarai at Rajpura

Sarai at Shambhu

Aam Khas Bagh at Sirhind

Tomb of Haji Muhammad at Sirhind

Tomb of Ustad at Sirhind

Tomb of Shagird at Sirhind

Haveli of Todar Mal at Sirhind

Mughal Bridge at Sirhind

Two kos-minars

District Ropar

Tomb at Morinda

Tomb of Jamal Khan at Ropar

Haryana

District Ambala

Rang Mahal at Buria

Garden at Pinjore

Jama Masjid at Pinjore

Osmion ki Masjid at Sadhora

Mosque of Abdul Wahab at Sadhora

Sarai at Shahabad

One kos-minar

District Faridabad

Jama Masjid at Faridabad

Bridge at Khawaja Sarai

Tomb of Sheikh Shahbaz at Palwal

Tomb of Sayyid Chirag at Palwal

District Gurgaon

Tomb of Allah Yar Khan at Illabas

Sixteen kos-minars

District Hissar

Humayun's Mosque at Fatehabad

Group of nine tombs of the martyrs of Humayun's Gujarat campaign at Hissar

Group of three tombs near Gaushala at Hissar

Two tombs on the Delhi Road at Hissar

Chiri Gumbad

Mosque of Sher Bahlol at Hissar

District Karnal

Sarai at Gharonda

Tomb of Muqarrab Khan at Panipat

Kabuli Bagh Mosque at Panipat

Sarai at Taraori

Tank at Taraori

Twenty-six kos-minars

District Kurukshetra

Jama Masjid at Kaithal

Sarai at Thanesar

Tomb of Jalaluddin at Thanesar

Tomb of Sheikh Chilli at Thanesar

Chinivali Masjid at Thanesar

Madrassa at Thanesar

Mughal bridge at Thanesar

District Mohindergarh

Sarai Mukand Das at Narnaul

Tomb of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul

Tomb of Islam Quli Khan at Narnaul

Tomb of Shah Nizam at Narnaul

Jama Masjid at Narnaul

Mosque near Ali Jan ka Takht at Narnaul

Mosque of Shah Nizam at Narnaul

Chhatta Rai Mukand Das at Narnaul

Jal Mahal at Narnaul

Ali Jan ka Takht at Narnaul

<u>District Rohtak</u>

Three tombs at Gorawar

Group of seven tombs at Jhajjar

Gateway of Rustam Khan at Jhajjar

Buwawala Tank at Jhajjar

Tank of Shah Kamal Ghazi at Jhajjar

Three tombs at Mehm

Tomb of Daula Khan at Mehm

Jama Masjid at Mehm

Mosque of Daula Khan at Mehm

Two baolis at Mehm

Mosque at Gaokaran near Rohtak

Gateway of Wazir Khan at Rohtak

Eight kos-minars

GLOSSARY

Aisle : Lateral divisions running at the sides of the nave.

Alcove : Vaulted recess in a wall

Amalka : Flat fluted melon-shaped member usually at the summit of the Indo-Aryan type of spire.

Arabesque : Decoration with fanciful intertwining of ornamental elements.

Arcade : Range of arches supported on piers or columns.

Balcony : Outside balustrated platform.

Baoli : Step-well

Baradari : Literally"having twelve entrances", a pillared portico or pavilion, columned building.

Barrel-vault : Cylindrical form of roof or ceiling.

Bas-relief: Sculptures in which figures do not stand far out from the ground on which they are formed.

Bastion : Projecting part of a fortification.

Battlements : Indented parapet.

Bay : A division or compartment between pillars.

Beam : A long piece of stone or wood supported at each end.

Bracket : Projected ornament or support.

Bulbous : Shaped like a bulb, nearly spherical.

Cantilever : A horizontal projection supported by a downward force behind a fulcrum.

Cardinal sides : The four chief sides - north, south, east and west.

Cascade : A waterfall.

Causeway : Raised road.

Ceiling : Covering surface under roof.

Chabutra : Raised platform.

Chevron : A zigzag pattern usually carved on the shafts of columns.

Chhajja : Overhanging cornice, eaves.

Chhatri : Kiosk or small pavilion, acting as turret on the roof.

Chute : Patterned sloping surface over which water ripples down.

Cloister : Covered corridors, or passages usually surrounding an open square.

Column : An upright member, circular in plan and usually slightly tapering.

Corbel : Blocks of stone projecting from a wall or pier, brackets.

Corbelling: Brick or masonry courses, each built out beyond the one below.

Cornice : Any crowning portion or projection.

Crenelated : Furnished with battlements or loopholes.

Cupola : A dome, especially a small dome on a circular or polygonal base crowning a roof or turret.

Cusped arch : An arch having arches within its curve. Also called engrailed arch.

Diaper : Small floral pattern repeated continuously over a wall surface.

Dome : A vault of even curvature erected on a circular base. The section can be segmental, semi-circular, pointed or bulbous.

Double dome : A dome composed of an inner and an outer shell of masonry.

Drum : Circular or polygonal wall on which a dome rests.

Eaves : Chhajja :Lower portion of a roof projecting beyond the face of a wall.

Encaustic tiles : Earthenware tiles glazed and decorated.

Engrailed arch : See "cusped arch."

Epigraph : An inscription, especially on a building.

Facade : Front view or elevation.

Fluting : Vertical channelling on the shaft of a column etc.

Foliated : Carved with leaf ornament.

Gallery : Passage common to rooms in an upper storey.

Garth : Small garden within cloisters.

Ghat : Platform or steps at the edge of water.

Glazed tiles : See "Encaustic tiles"

Hammam : Bath suite.

Idgah : Praying place used on the two chief Muslim festivals.

Inscription : A record engraved in stone.

Jali : Literally "net", any lattice or perforated pattern.

Jamb: Sides of the opening of doors or windows.

Kalasha: Literally " vase"; an ornamental pot found in finials of domes and painted or carved decorations.

Kiosk : Small pavilion generally on parapet or roof.

Lattice-work : See "Jali".

Lintel : See "Beam".

Madrassa : School, college.

Mausoleum : A magnificent and stately tomb.

Medallion : Bas-relief of a round form.

Merlon : See "Battlements".

Mihrab: A niche cut into the western wall of an Indian mosque and acting as the focus for prayer.

Minar or Minaret : A tower attached to a mosque and used for the call to prayer.

Mortar: Mixture of lime, sand and water for joining stones or bricks.

Mosaic : Surface decoration for walls or floors formed of small pieces of glazed tiles, stone or marble set in a mastic.

Mosque : Masjid ; literally, "place of prostration".

Moulding: The contour given to projecting members.

Nave: The central or main compartment of a building.

Niche : Recess in wall for the reception of a statue or ornament.

Oblong: Rectangular.

Octagonal : Eight-sided.

Padam-kosa: A sheath of lotus petals.

Panel: Sunken compartment in a wall.

Parapet: Upper portion of a wall, above the roof.

Pavilion: An ornamental building, lightly constructed, often used as pleasure-house or summer-house.

Pendentive: A concave spandrel leading from the angle of two walls to the base of a circular dome.

Pier: Supporting mass other than a column.

Pilaster: Square pillar projected from a wall.

Pillar: A free standing upright member which, unlike a column, need not be cylindrical or conforming with any of the orders.

Pinnacle: Small turret-like termination.

Plan: Representation of a building showing the general distribution of its parts in horizontal section.

Plinth: Lower portion or base of a building or column.

Pointed arch : An arch produced by two curves, each with a radius

equal to the span and meeting on a point at the top; also called an equilateral arch.

Portal : Doorway

Post : A stout, stiff stake or pillar of timber or other material usually fixed in an upright position.

Quadrangle: A rectangular courtyard.

Rang Mahal : Pleasure-palace, one of the most sumptuous buildings in a palace, fortress etc.

Recess : A depression.

Relief : Projecting or standing out from the general surface, ground or level.

Reservoir: Artificial lake.

Sarai : Halting place for caravans.

Screen: Arcade separating a part of a building from the rest.

Scroll work : Spiral ornament or a ribbon-like strip, partly coiled or curved, often bearing a motif.

Shaft: Portion of a column between base and capital.

Soffit: Under-side of any architectural member.

Spandrel: Triangular surface between the curve of an arch and the square enclosing it.

Squinch arch : Arch placed diagonally at the angle in the interior of dome to connect from square to round.

Stalactite: System of vaulting remotely resembling stalactite formation in a cave.

Stucco : A kind of plaster or cement for coating surfaces.

Satupa: Ofiginally a funreal mound or tumulus , but erected by the Buddhists either to enshrine a relic or to commemorate some sacred site.

Terraced : Ground or a structure that rises step-wise.

Trellis work : See "Jali".

Vault : Arched covering over any surface.

Verandah: An open gallery or balcony with a roof supported by light supports.

Voussoirs : Wedge-shaped blocks forming a true arch.

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GROUND PLANS

Fig. I. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh, plan of the garden

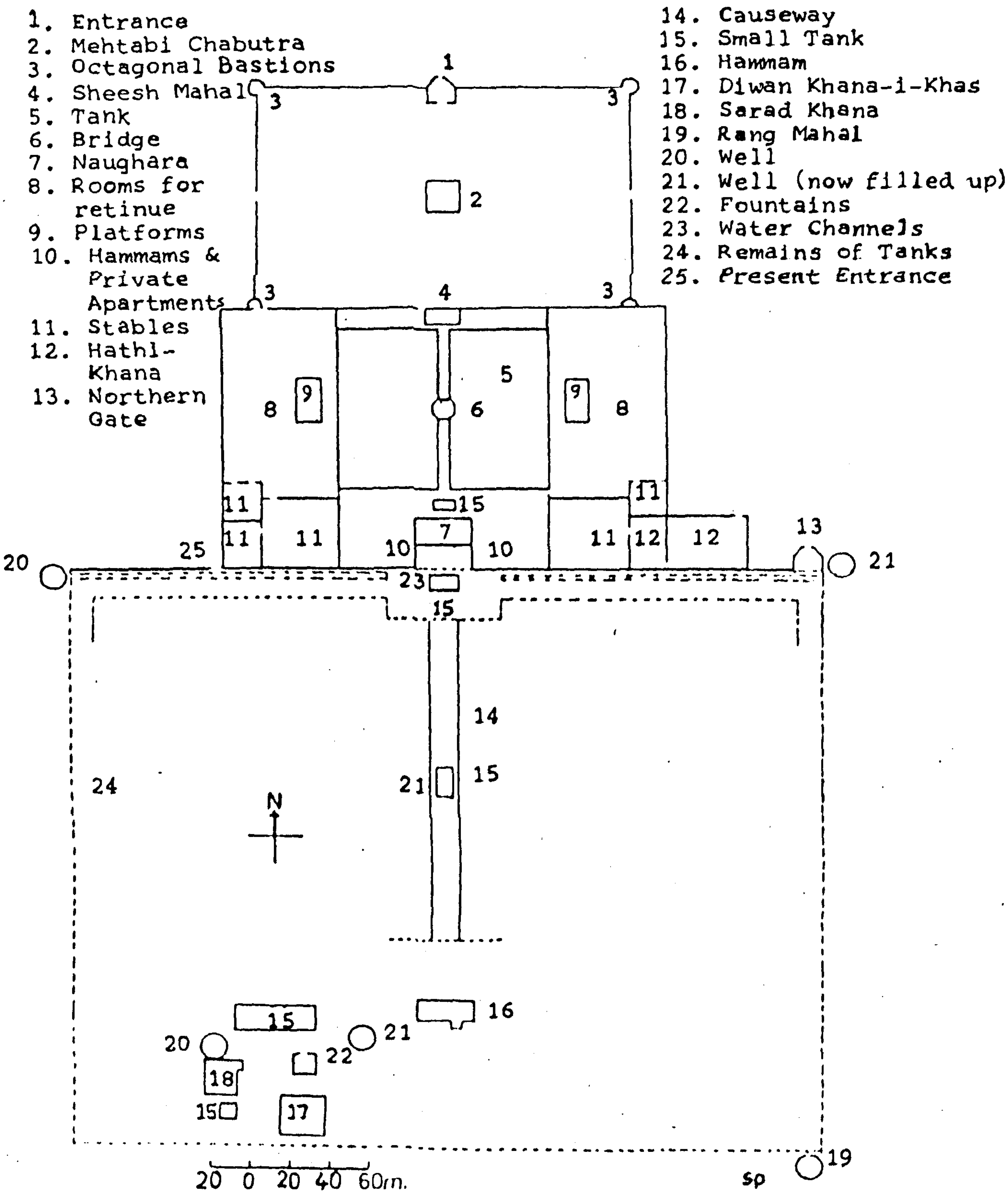


Fig. II. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh, plan of the second enclosure

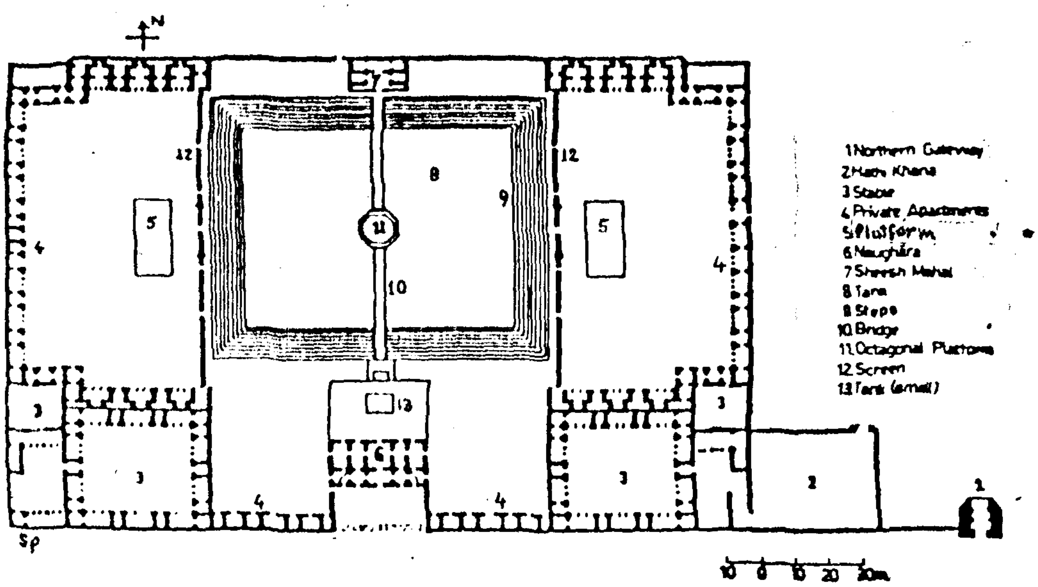


Fig. III. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh, plan of the hammam

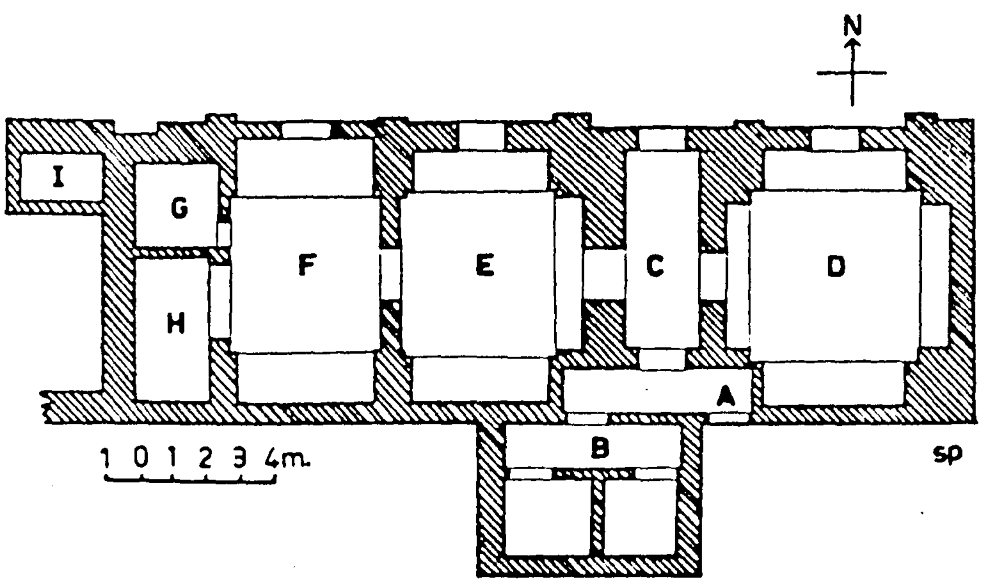


Fig. IV. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh, plan of the Sarad Khana

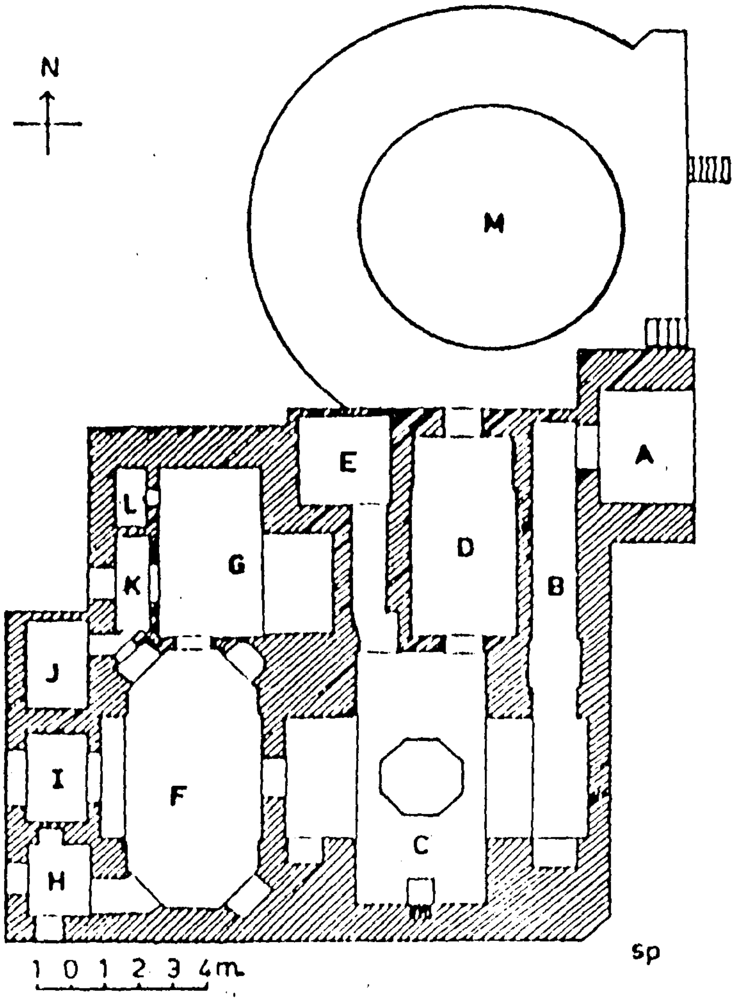


Fig.V. Fatehabad:western gateway, plan of the ground floor

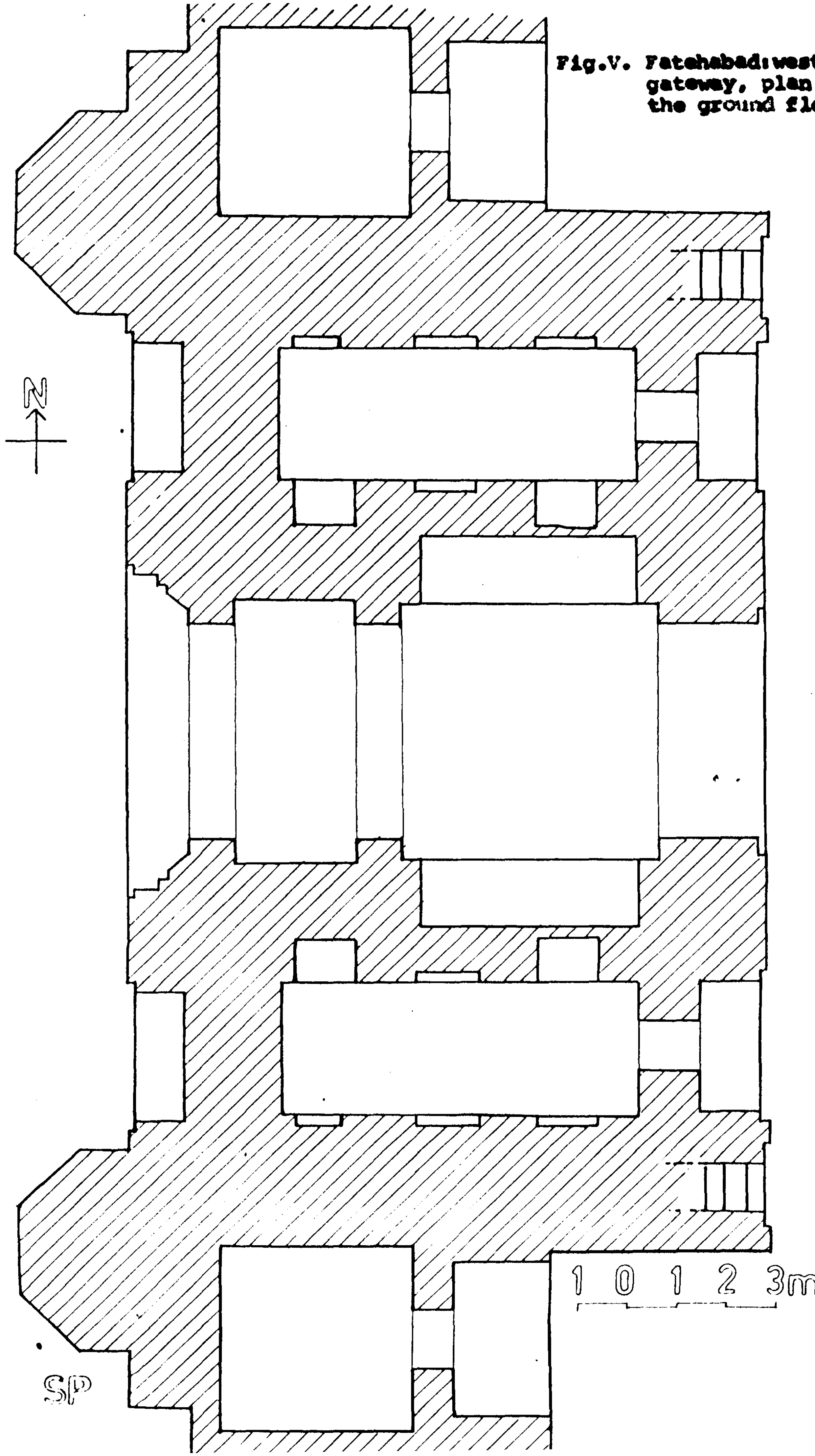


Fig. VI Fatehabad : Sarai

. Fatehabad: Sarai, western gateway, plan of the upper floor

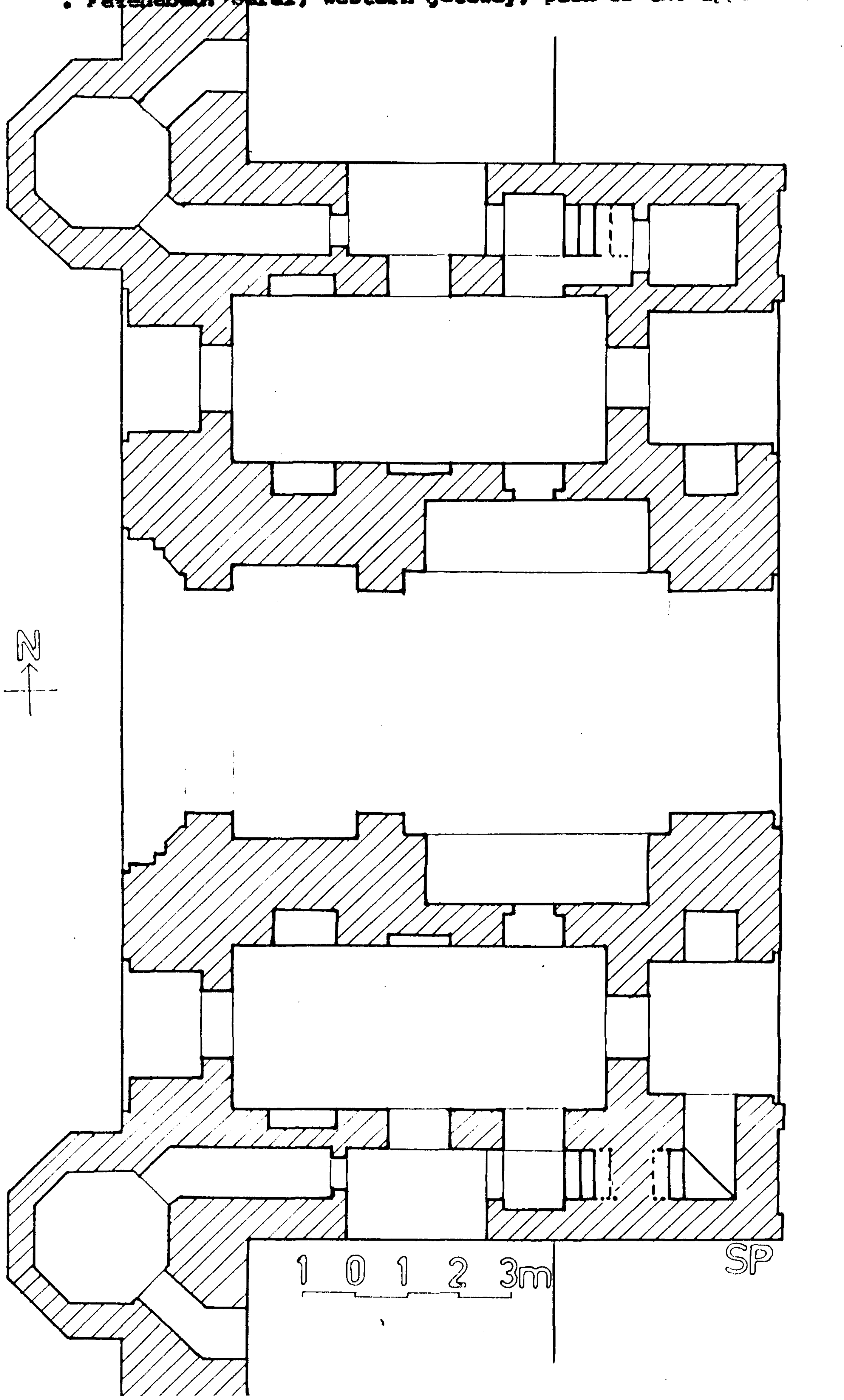


Fig. VII. Nurmahal, Sarai, general plan

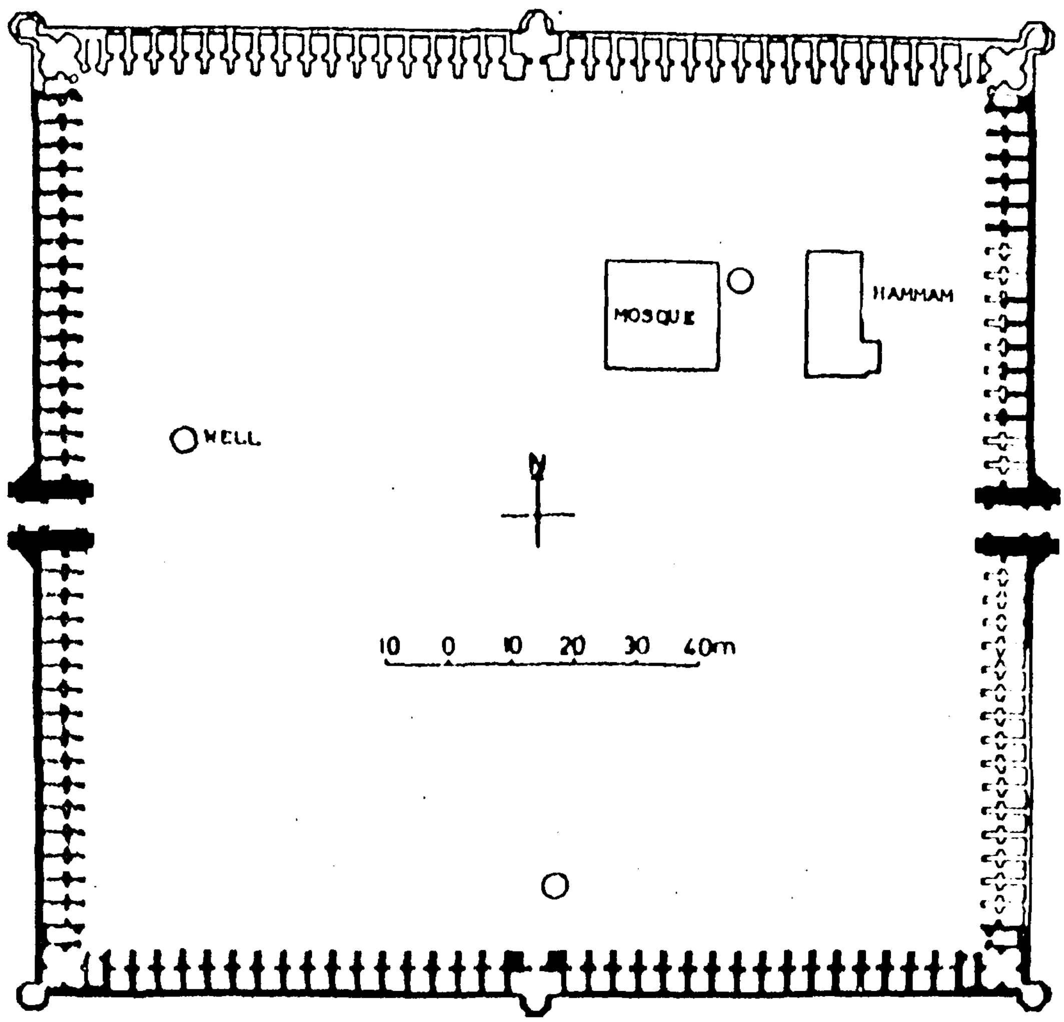


Fig. VIII. Nurmahal. Sarai, western gateway, plan of the ground floor

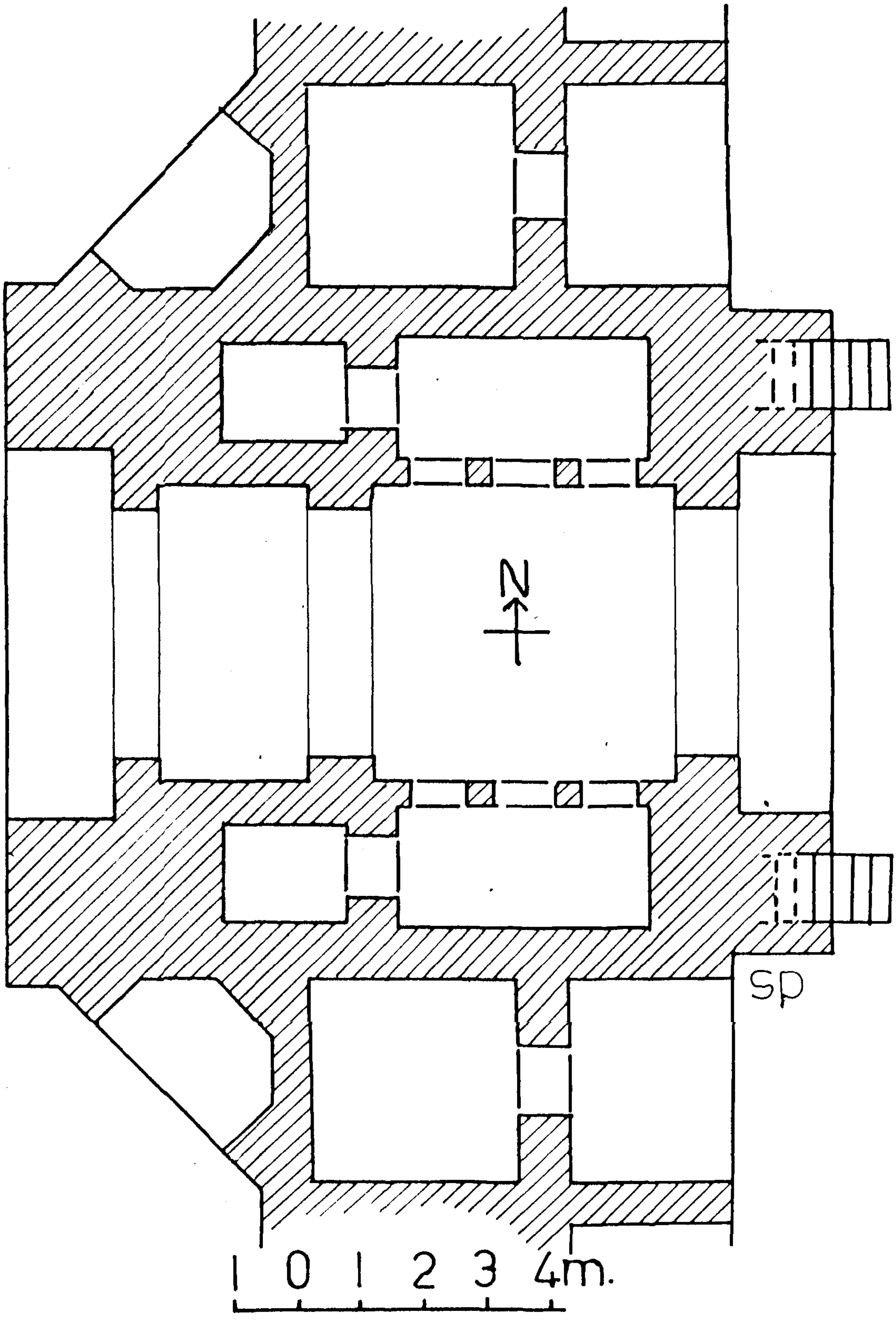


Fig. IX. Nurmahal : Sarai, western gateway, plan of the middle storey

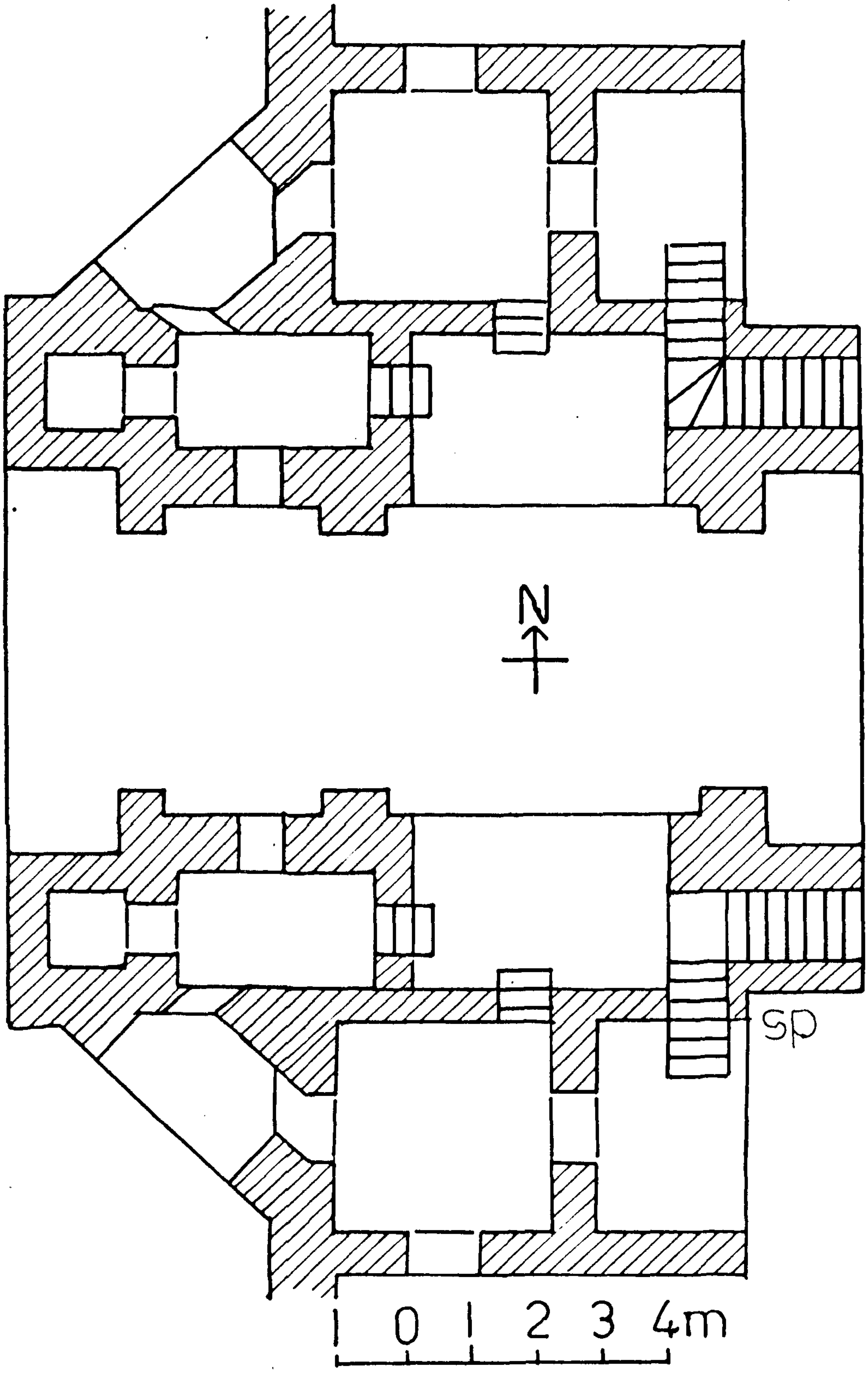


Fig. X. Nurmahal: Sarai, western gateway, plan of the top storey

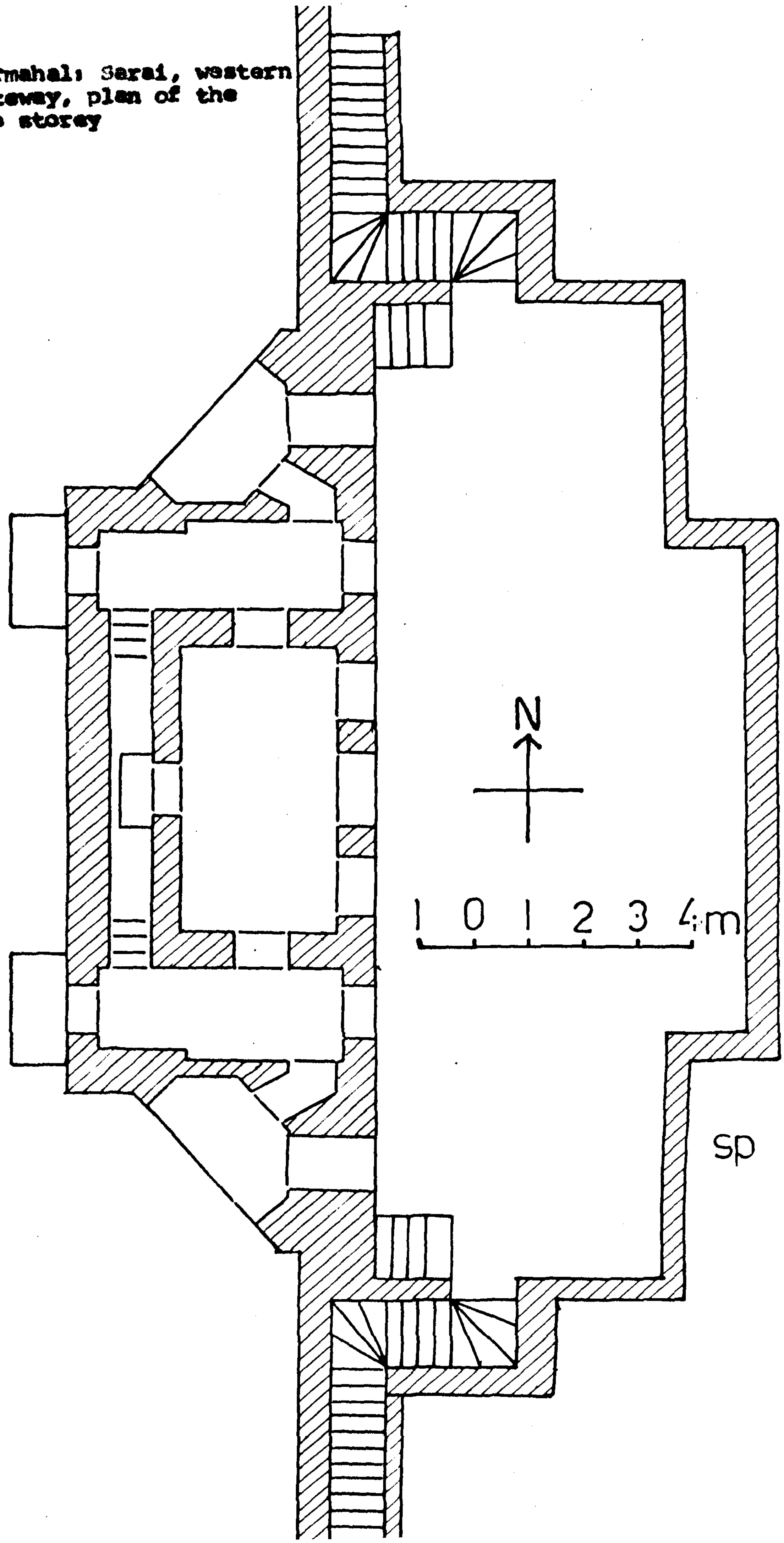


Fig. XI. Nurmahal : Sarai, plan of the rooms in the southwest corner

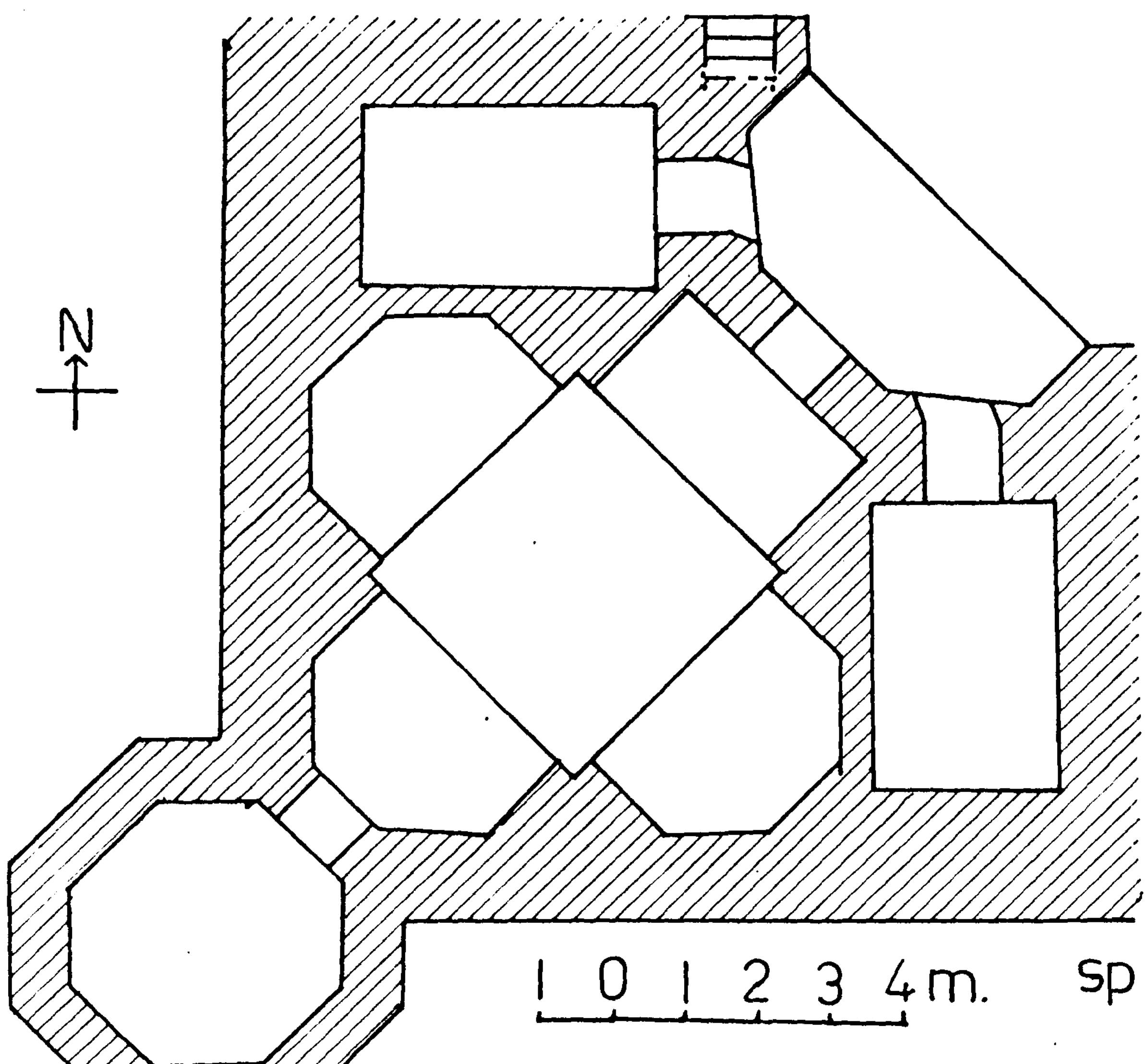


Fig. XII. Nurmahal : Sarai, plan of the upper storey room in the southwest corner

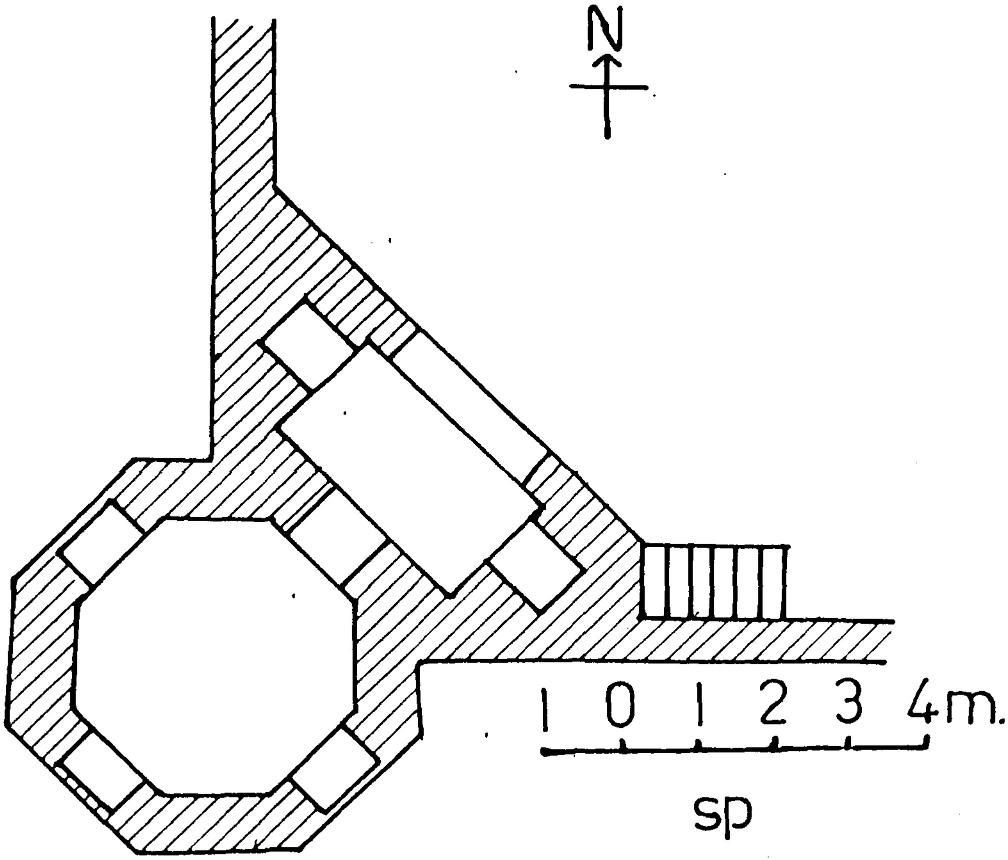


Fig. XXII. Nurmahal : Sarai, plan of the ground floor room in the middle of the southern side

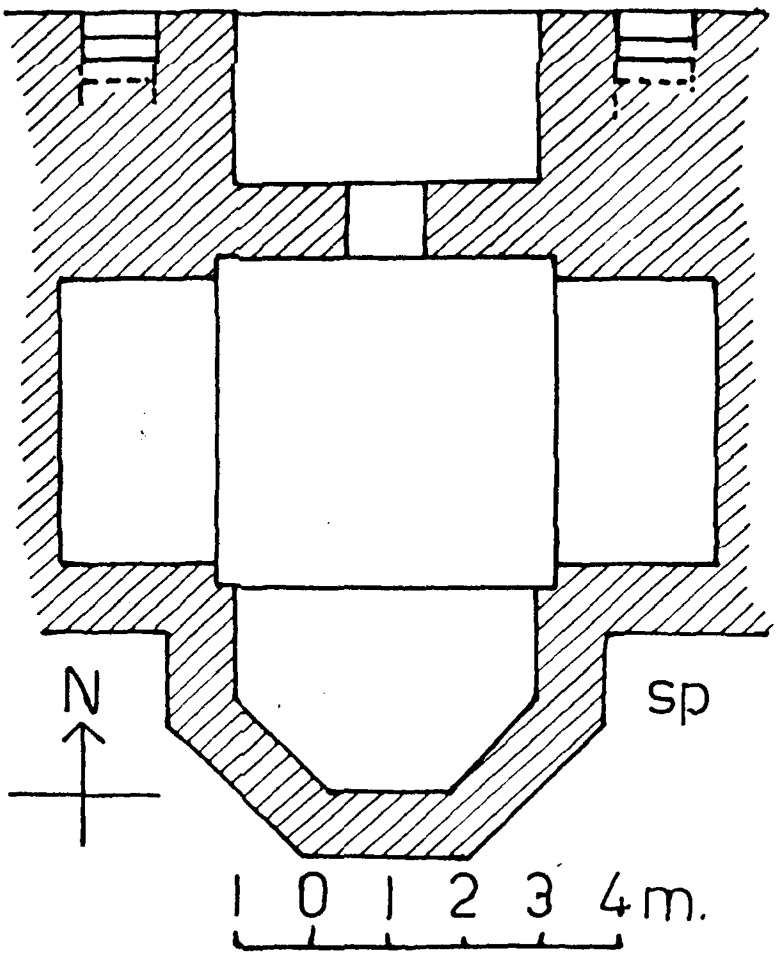


Fig. XIV. Nurmahal : Sarai, plan of the upper storey rooms in the middle of the southern side

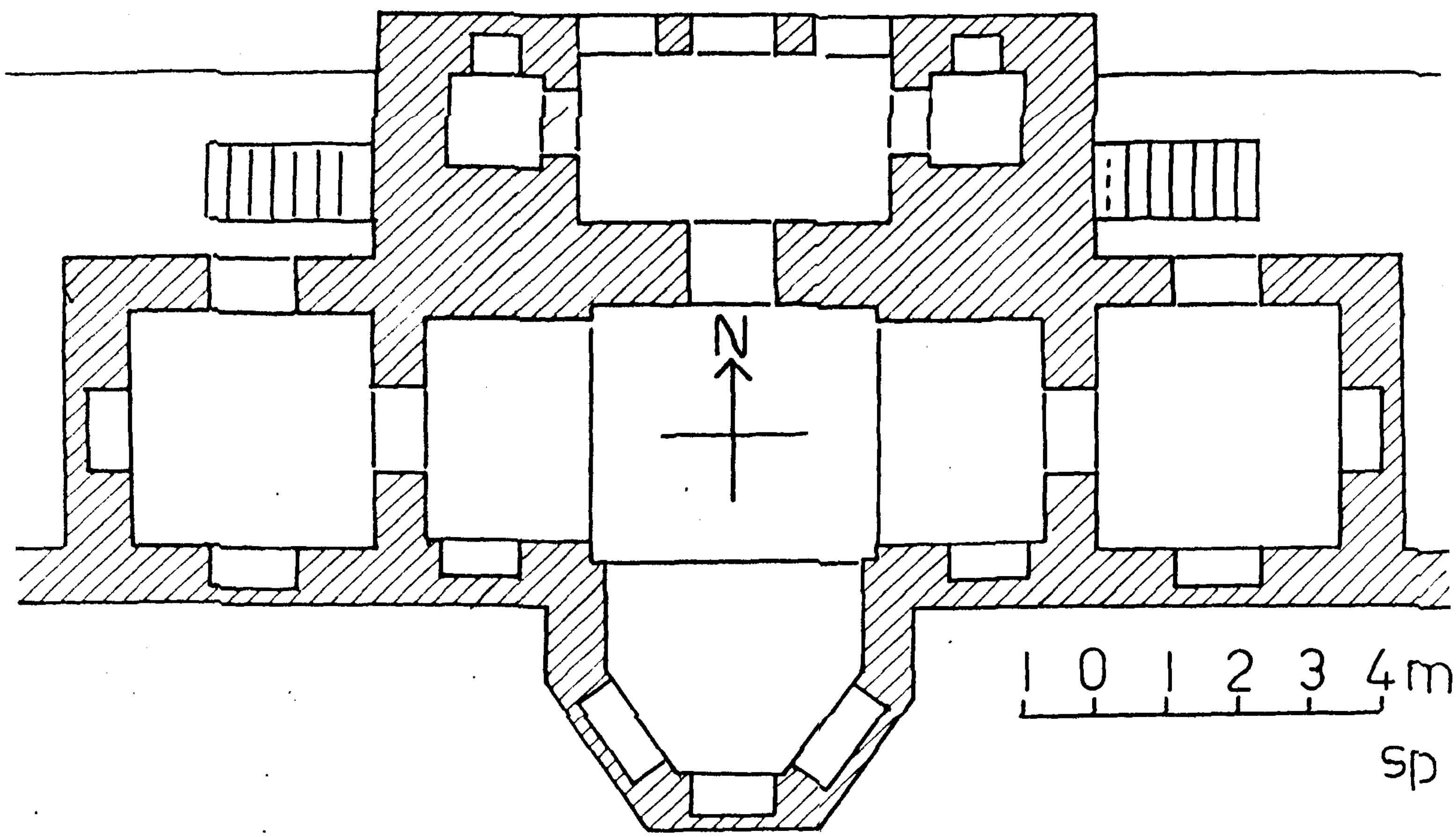


Fig. XV. Nurmahal : Sarai, plan of the mosque

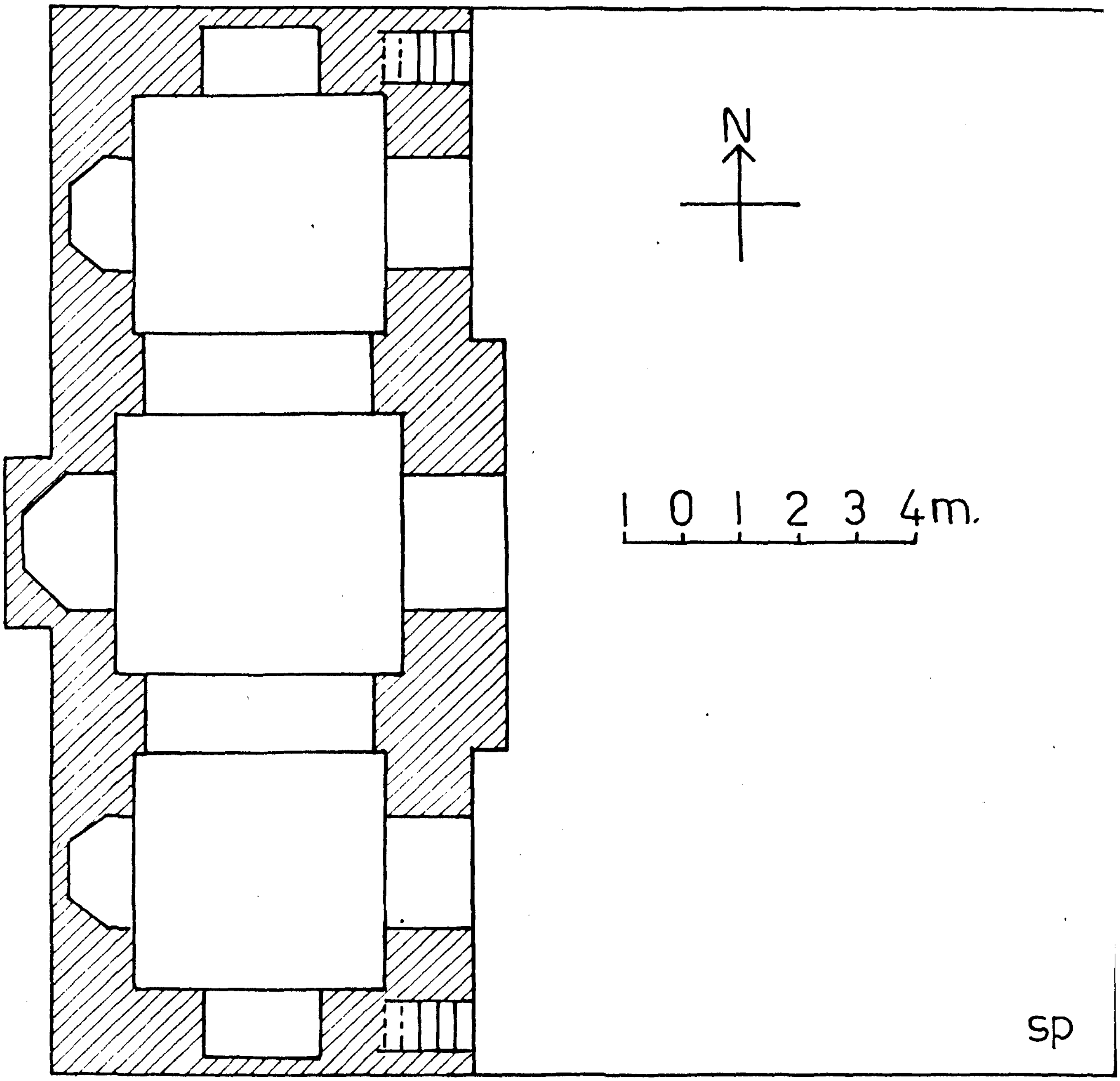


Fig. XVI. Nurmahal : Sarai, plan of the hammam

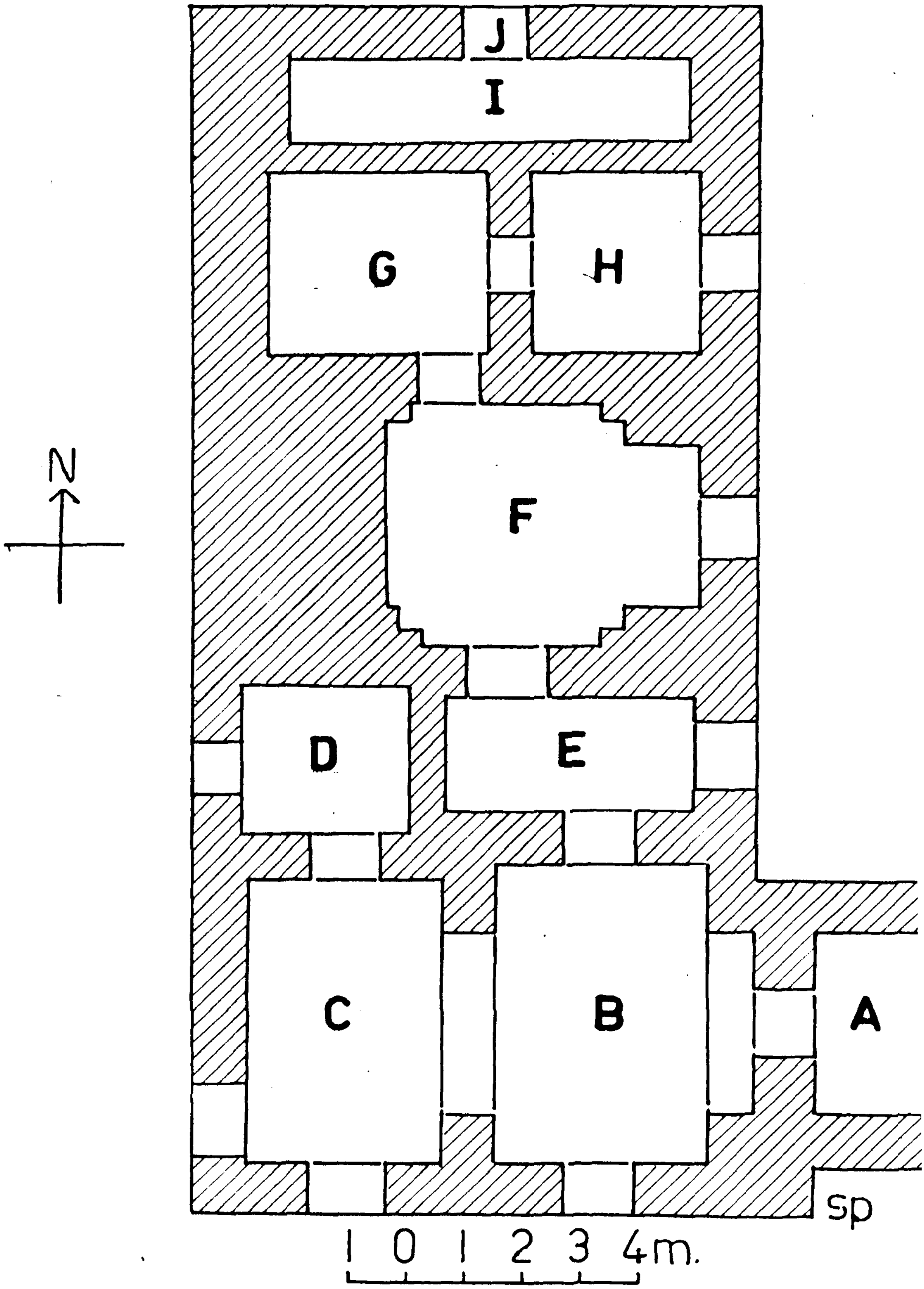


Fig. XVII. Doraha : Sarai, plan of the hammam

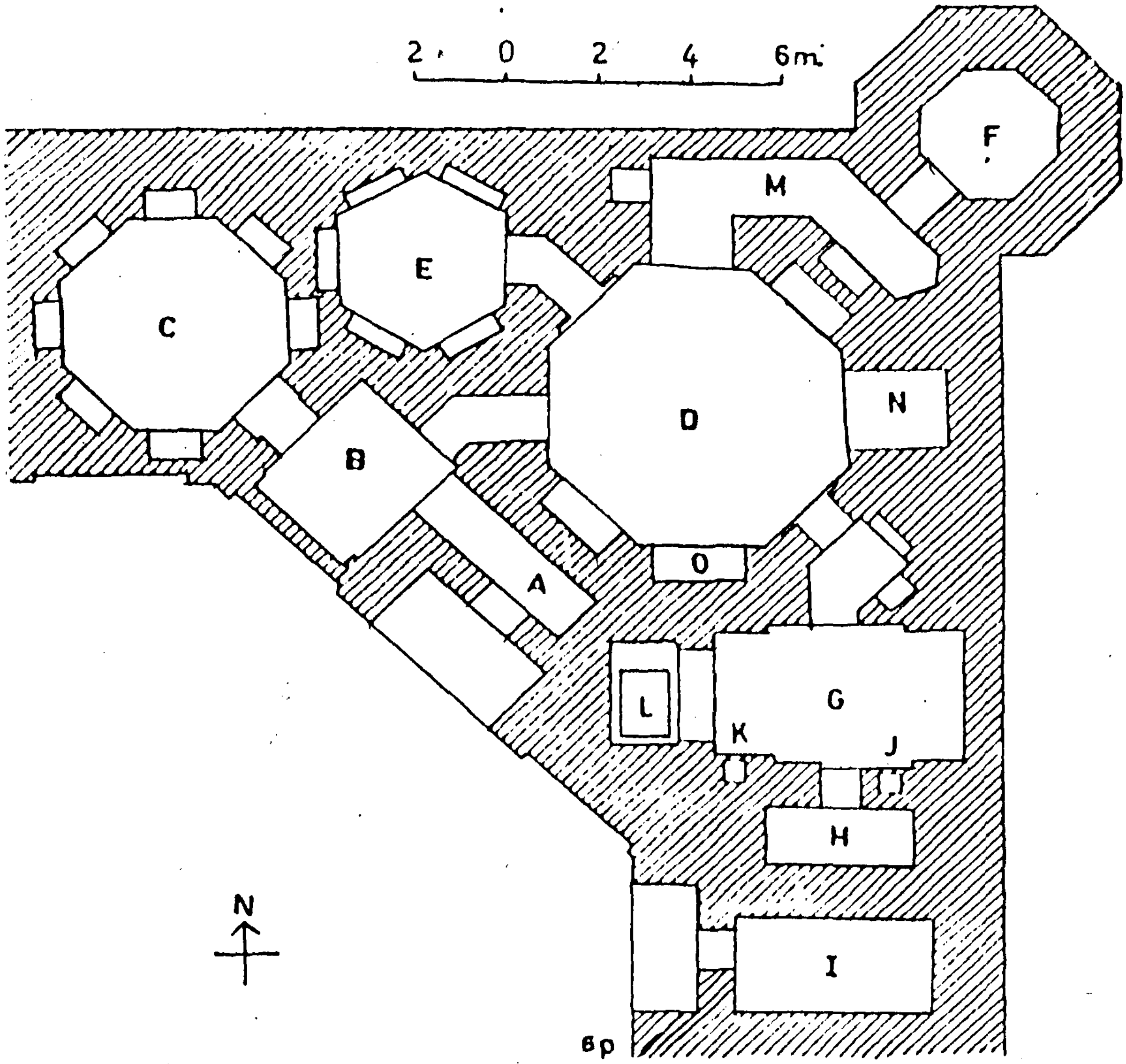


Fig. XVIII. Sultanpur Lodi : Sarai, general plan

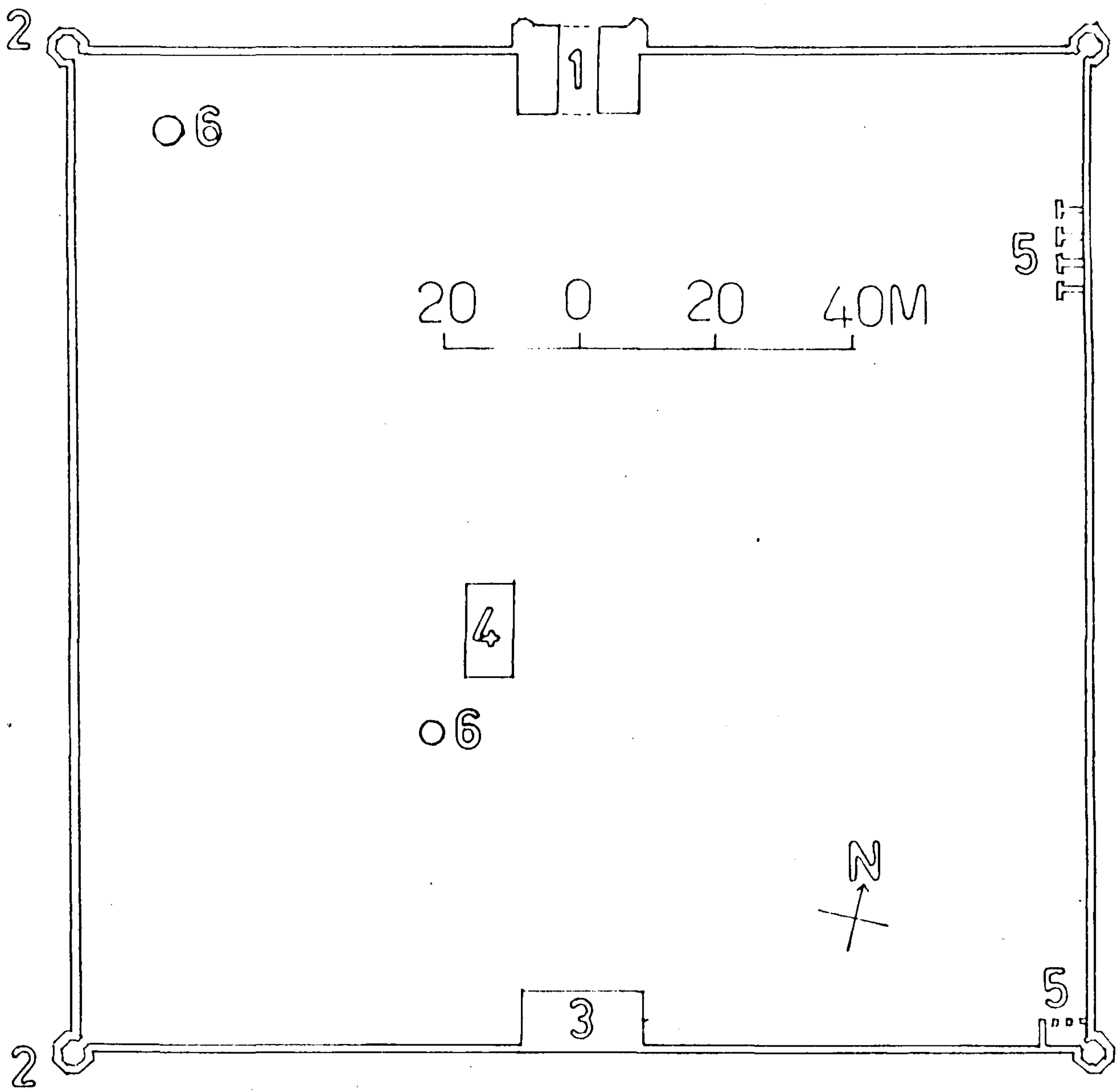


Fig. XIX. Sultanpur Lodi: Sarai, plans of the rooms in the middle of the northern side

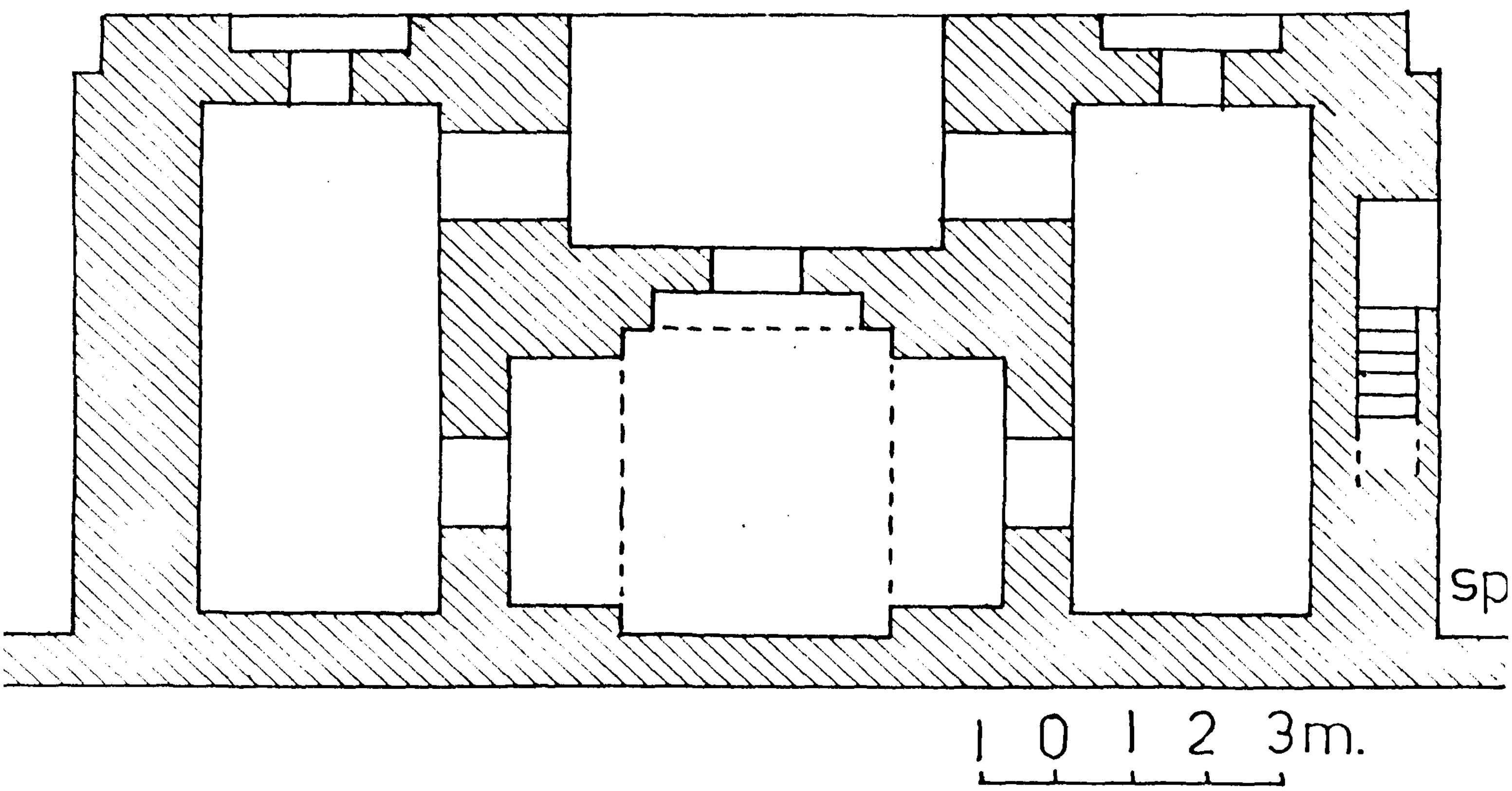


Fig. XX. Hissar : Tomb of Mir Ashiq Muhammad, plan

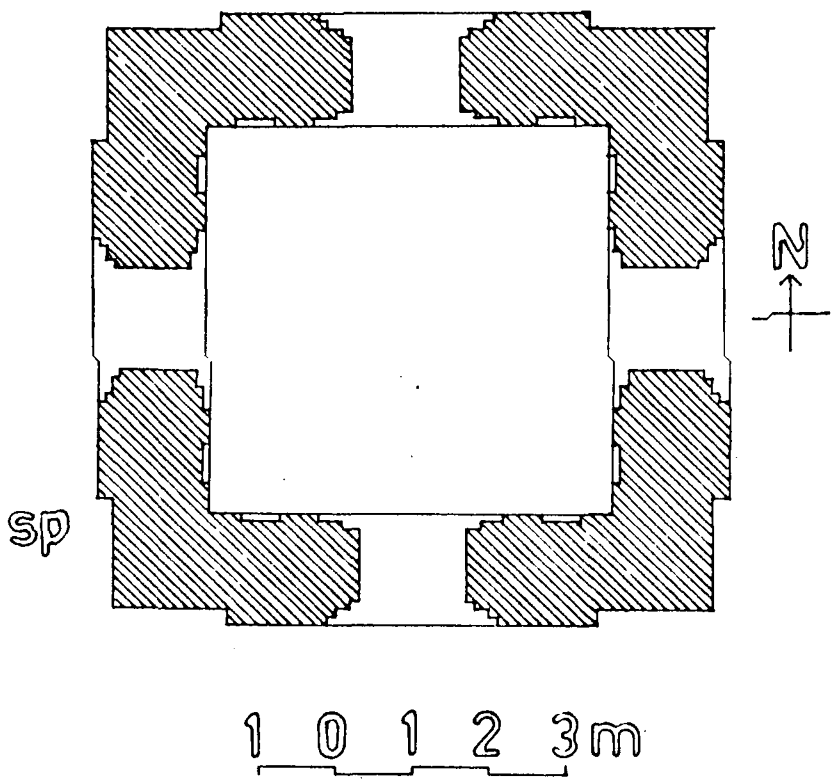


Fig. XXI. Gorawar : Tomb on the outskirts of the village, plan

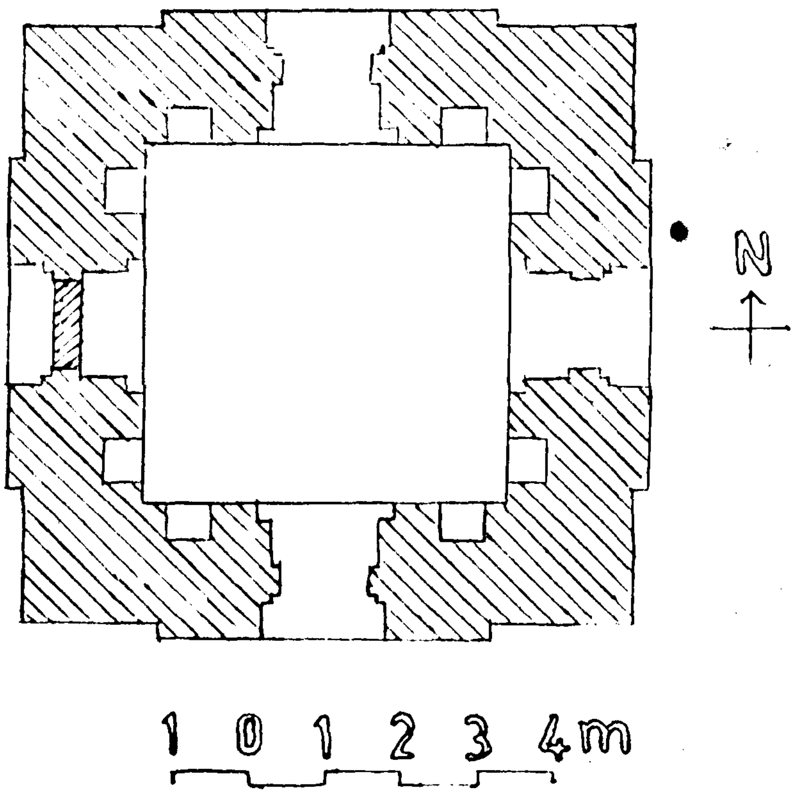


Fig. XXXI. Narnaul : Tomb of Shah Quli Khan, plan

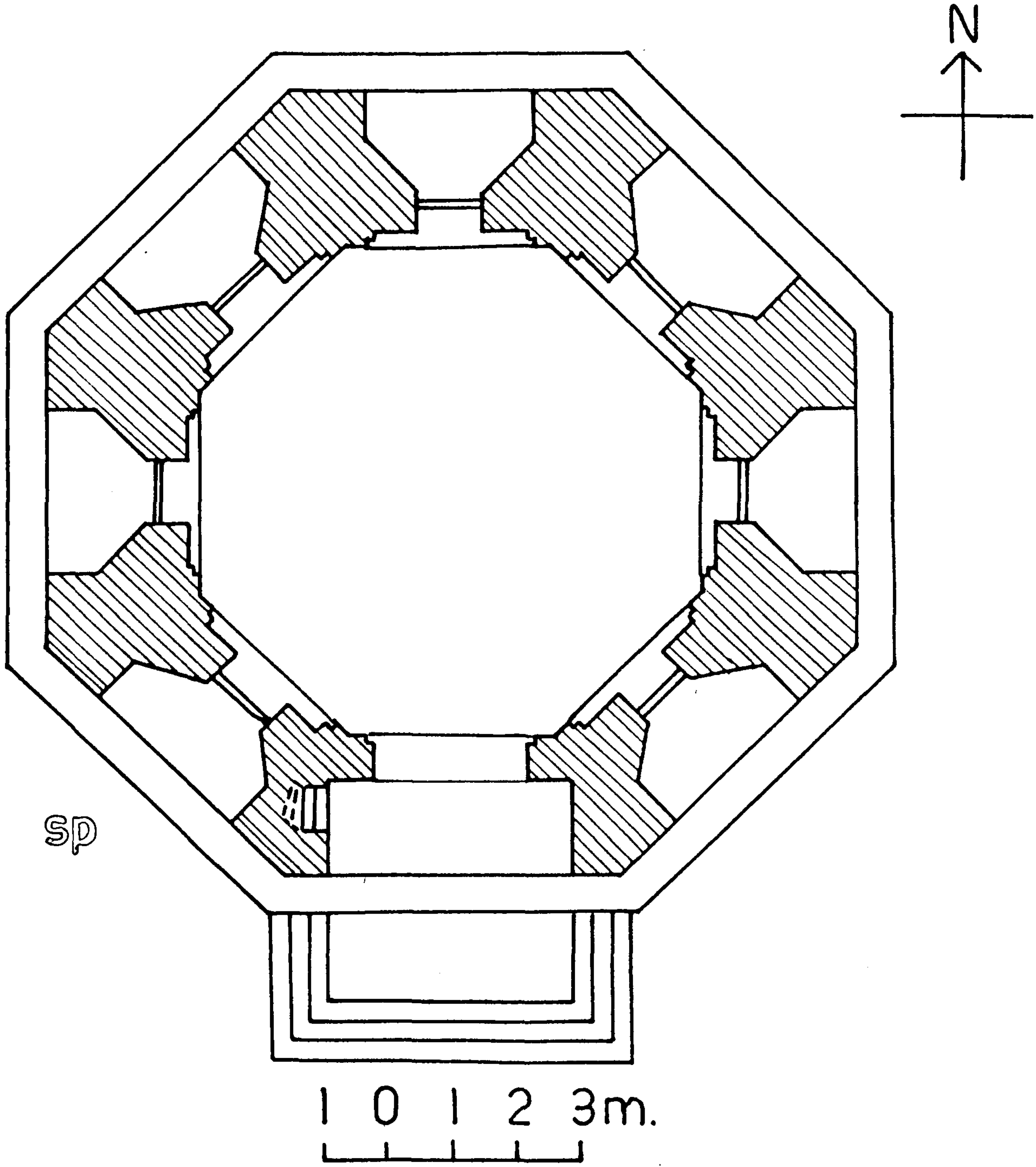


Fig. XXXII. Narnaul : Tomb of Islam Quli Khan, plan

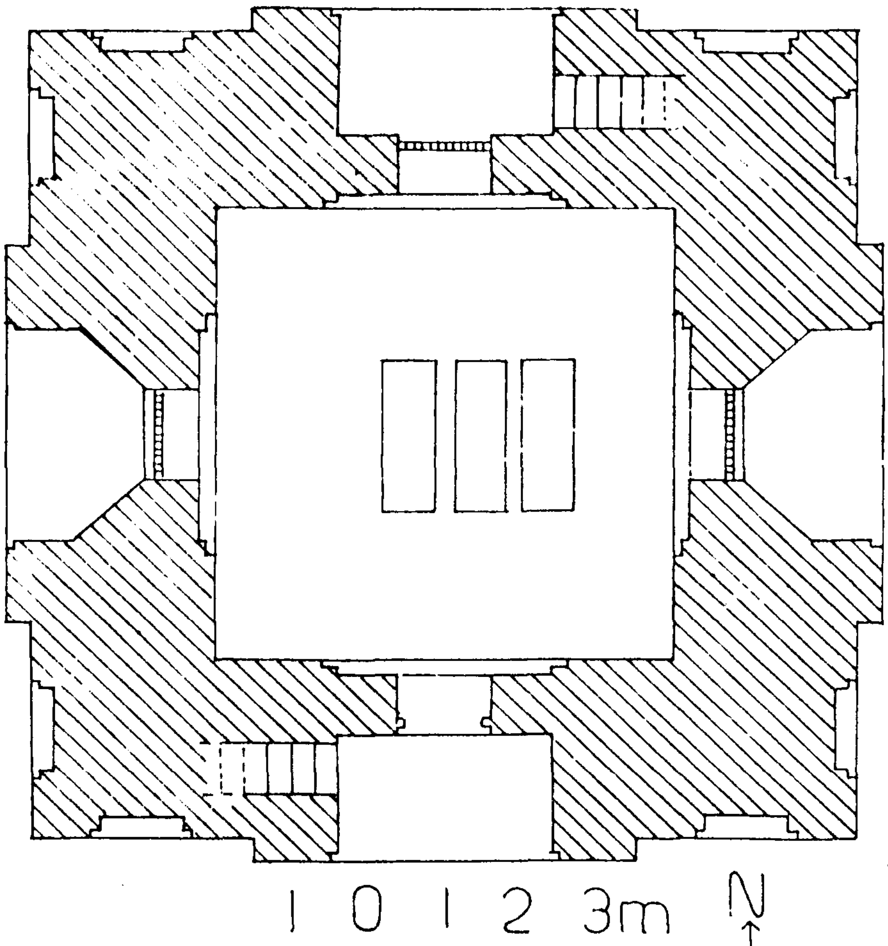


Fig. XXIV. Thanesar : Tomb of Jalaluddin, plan

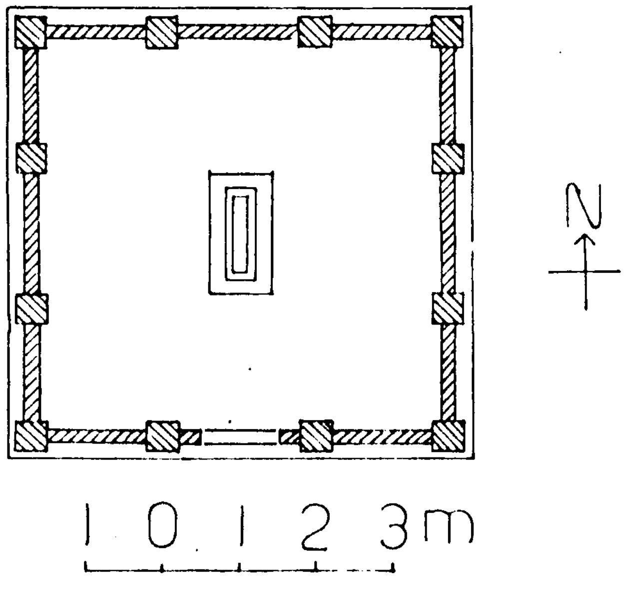


Fig. XXV. Bahlolpur: Tomb of Hussain Khan, plan of the ground floor

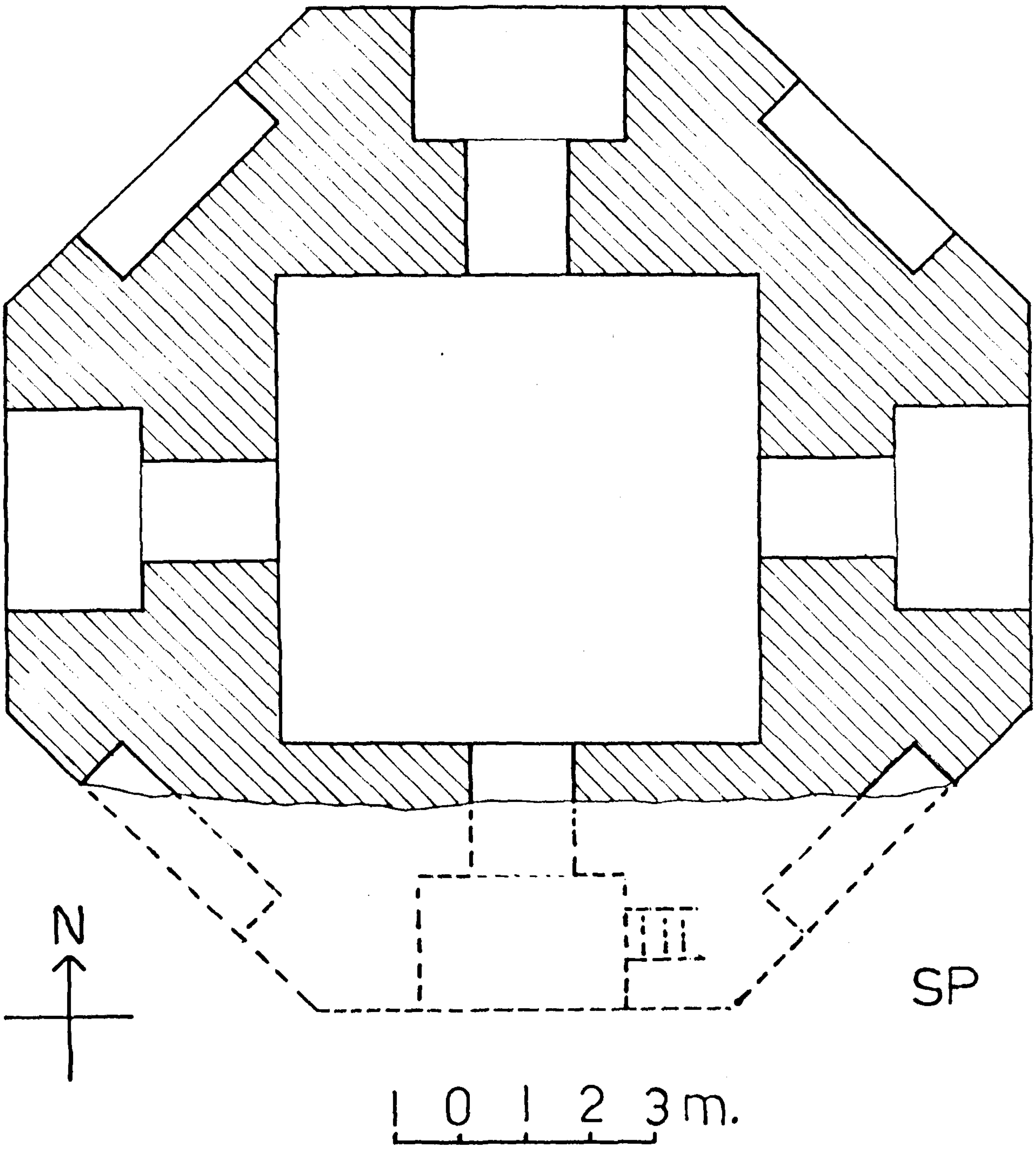


Fig. XXVI. Bahlolpur : Tomb of Hussain Khan, plan of the upper storey

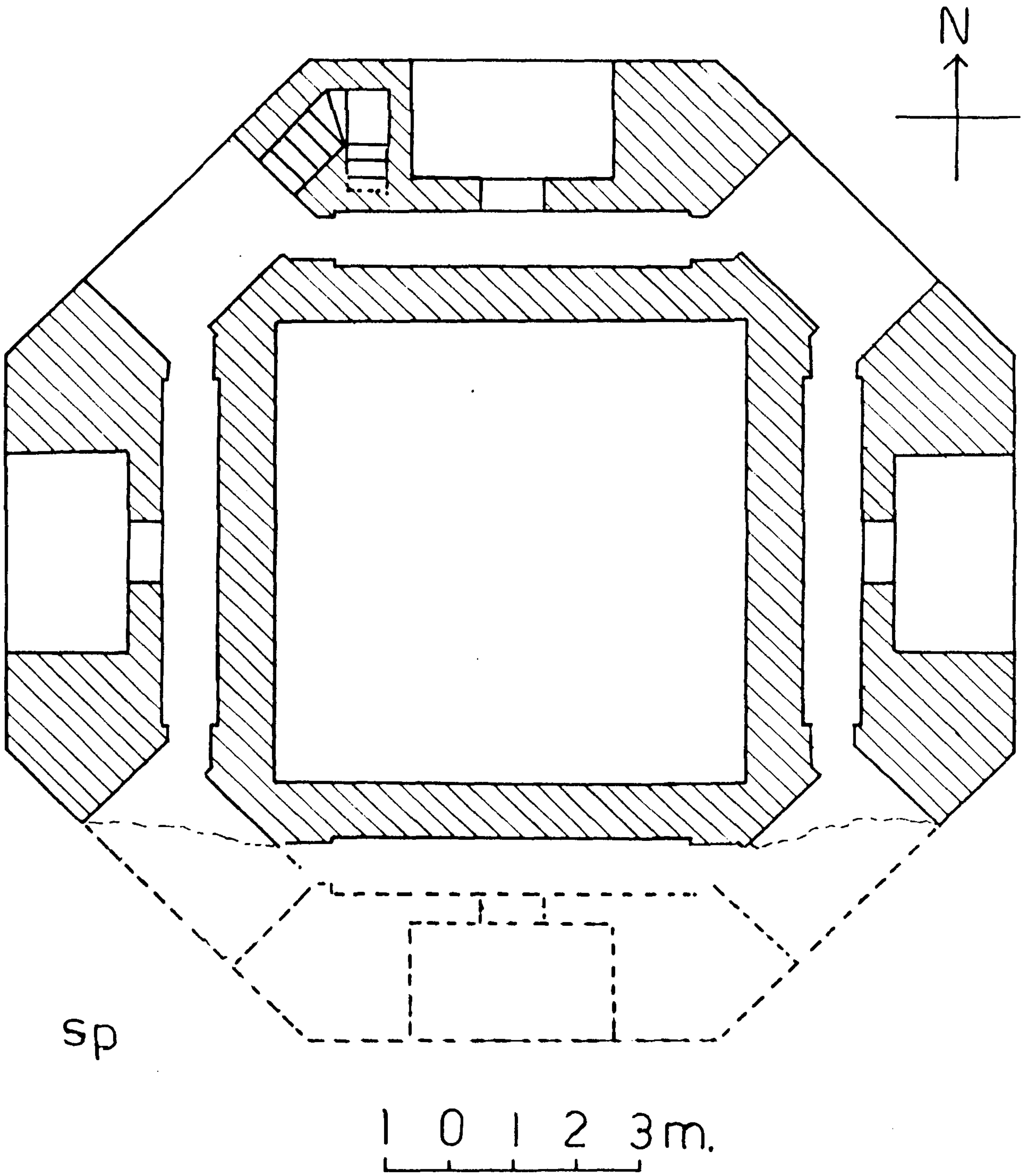


Fig. XXVII. Jhajjar : General plan of the group of tombs

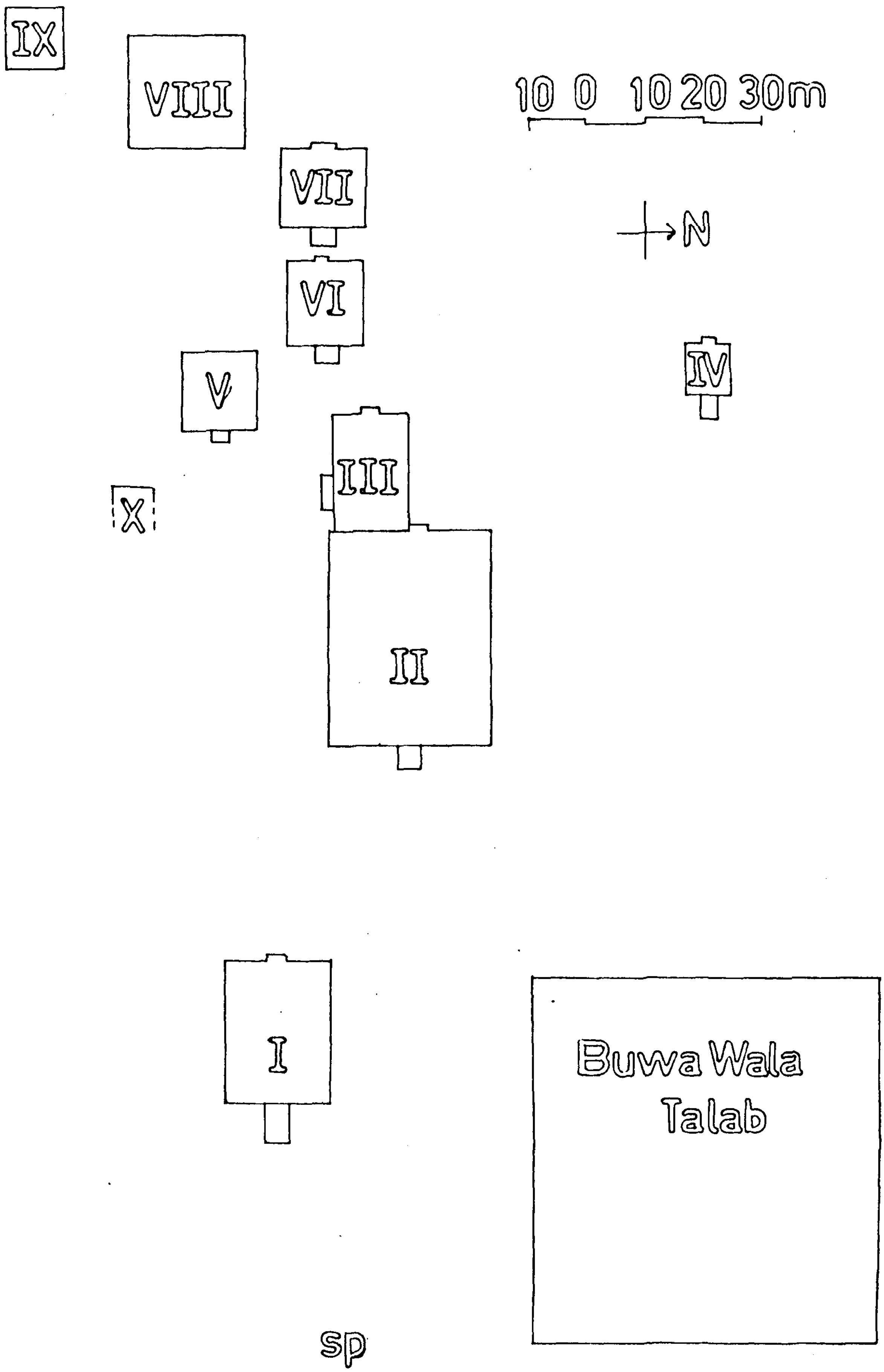


Fig. XXVIII. Sirhind : Tomb of Haji Muhammad, plan

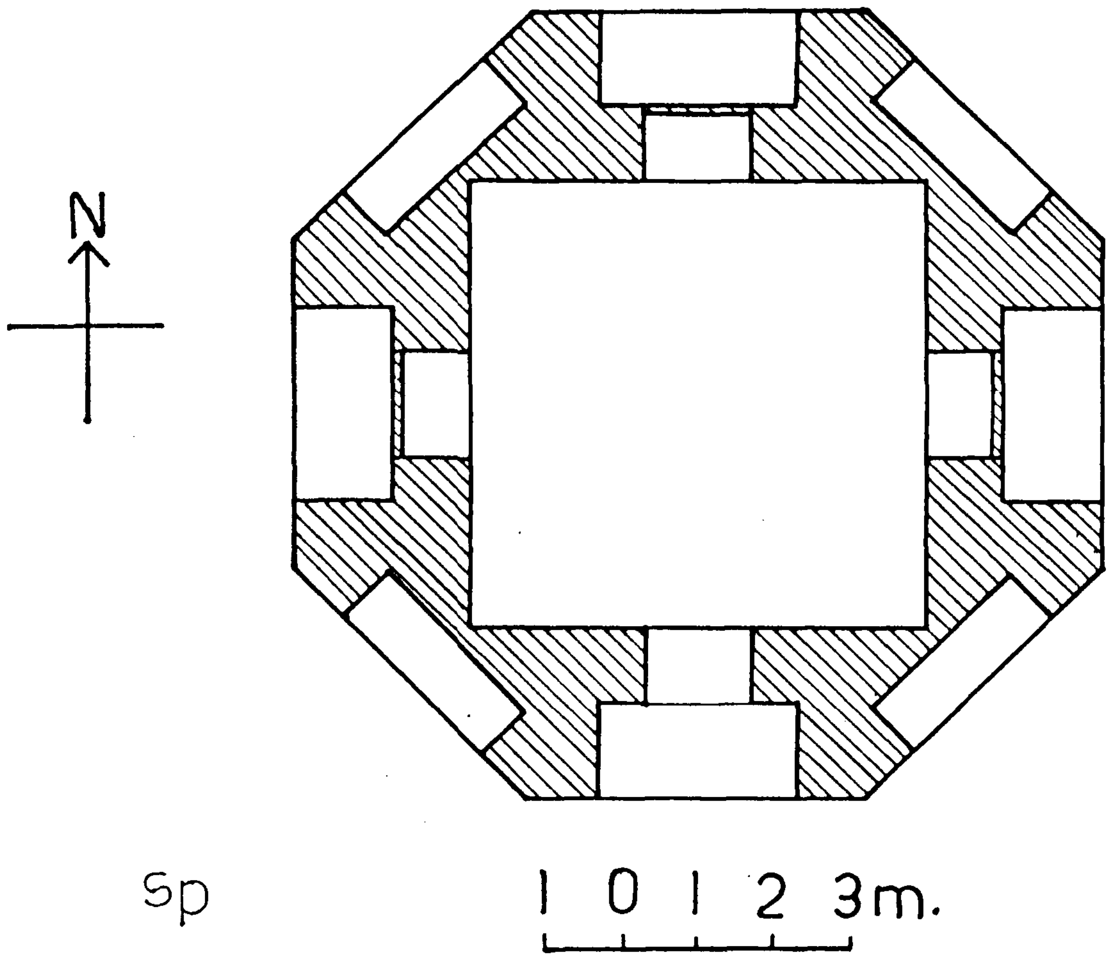


Fig. XXIX. Bahlolpur : Tomb of Bahadur Khan, plan

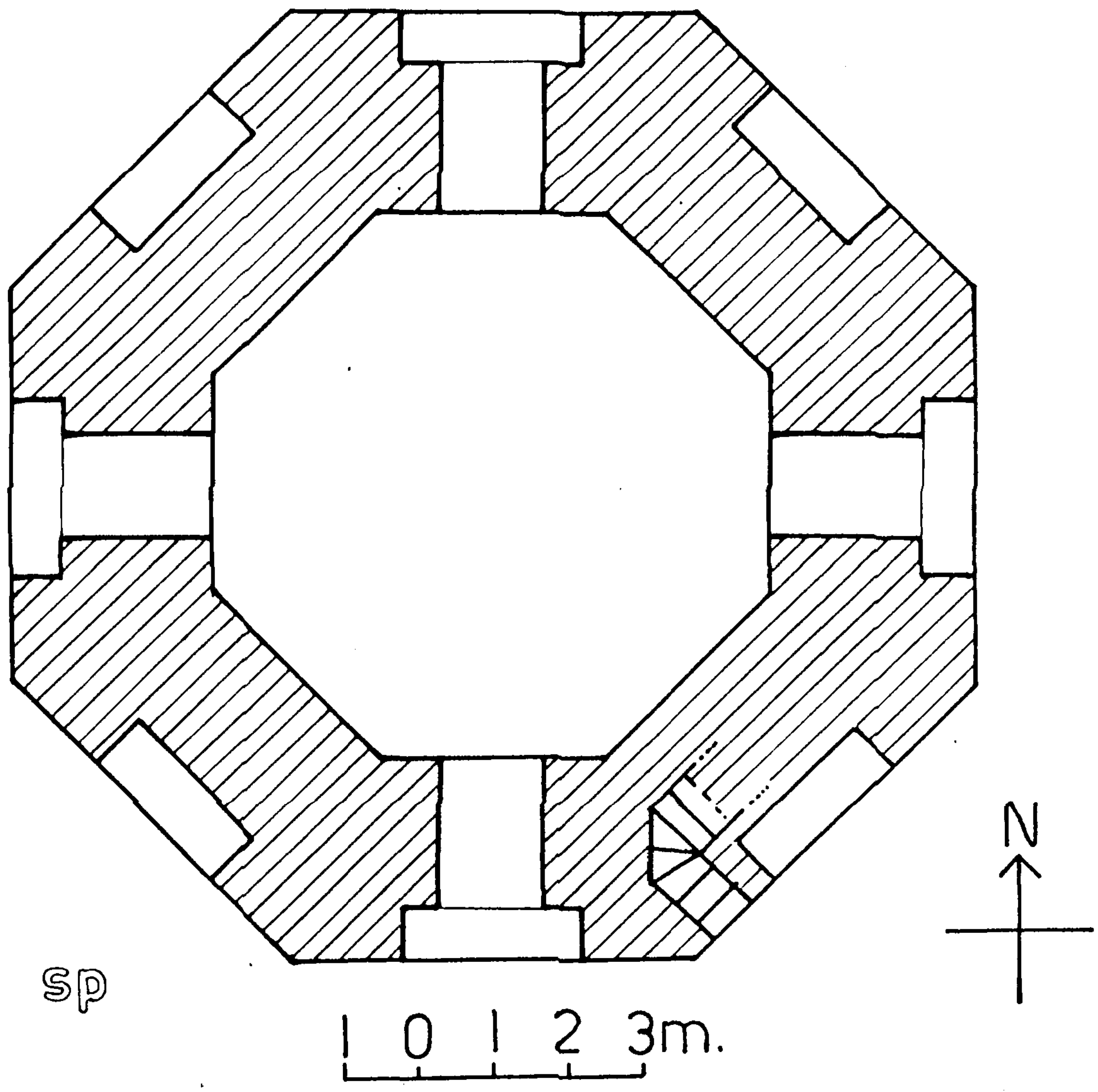


Fig. XXX. Nakodar : Tomb of Ustad, plan

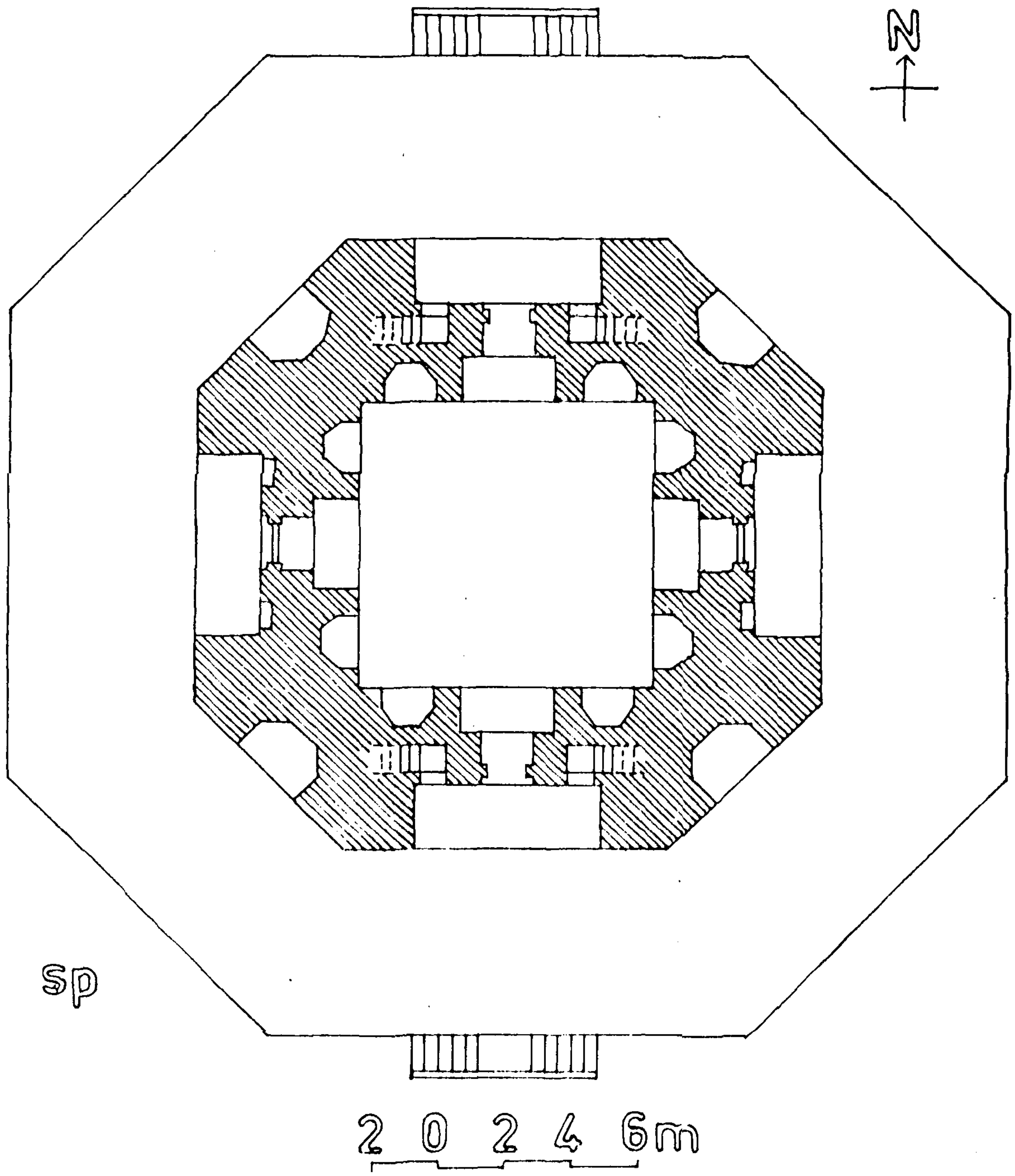


Fig. XXXI. Nurdin : Tomb, plan

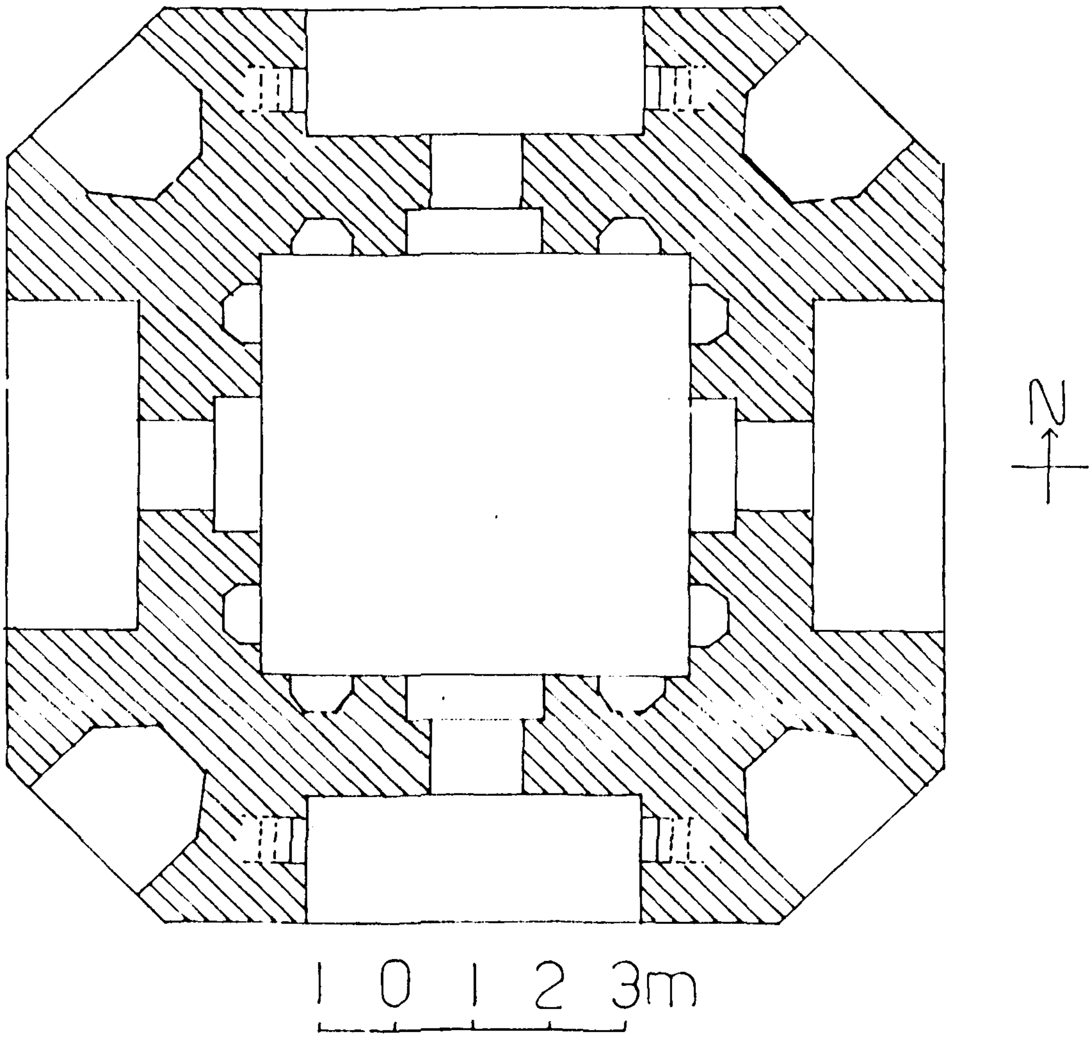


Fig. XXXII. Sirhind : Tomb of Ustad, plan of the ground floor

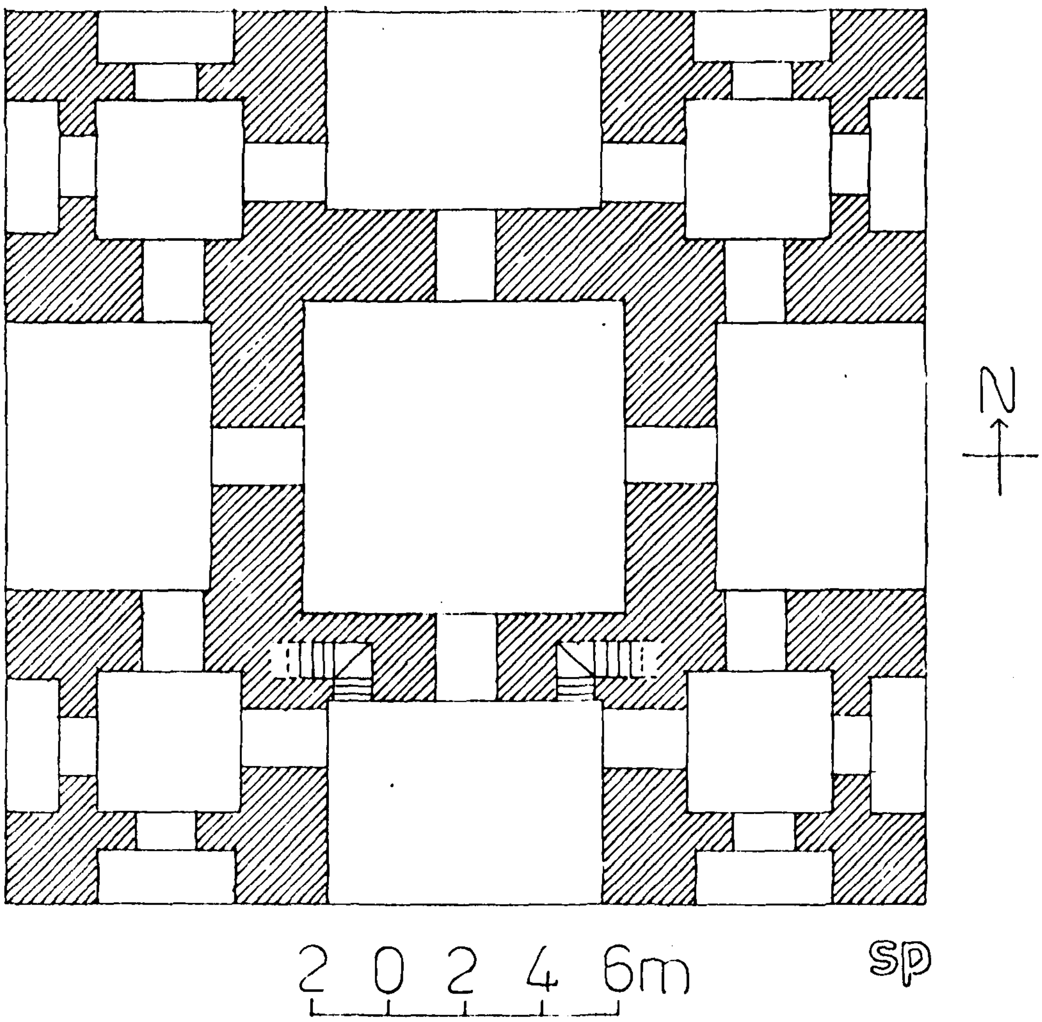


Fig. XXXIII. Sirhind : Tomb of Ustad, plan of the upper storey

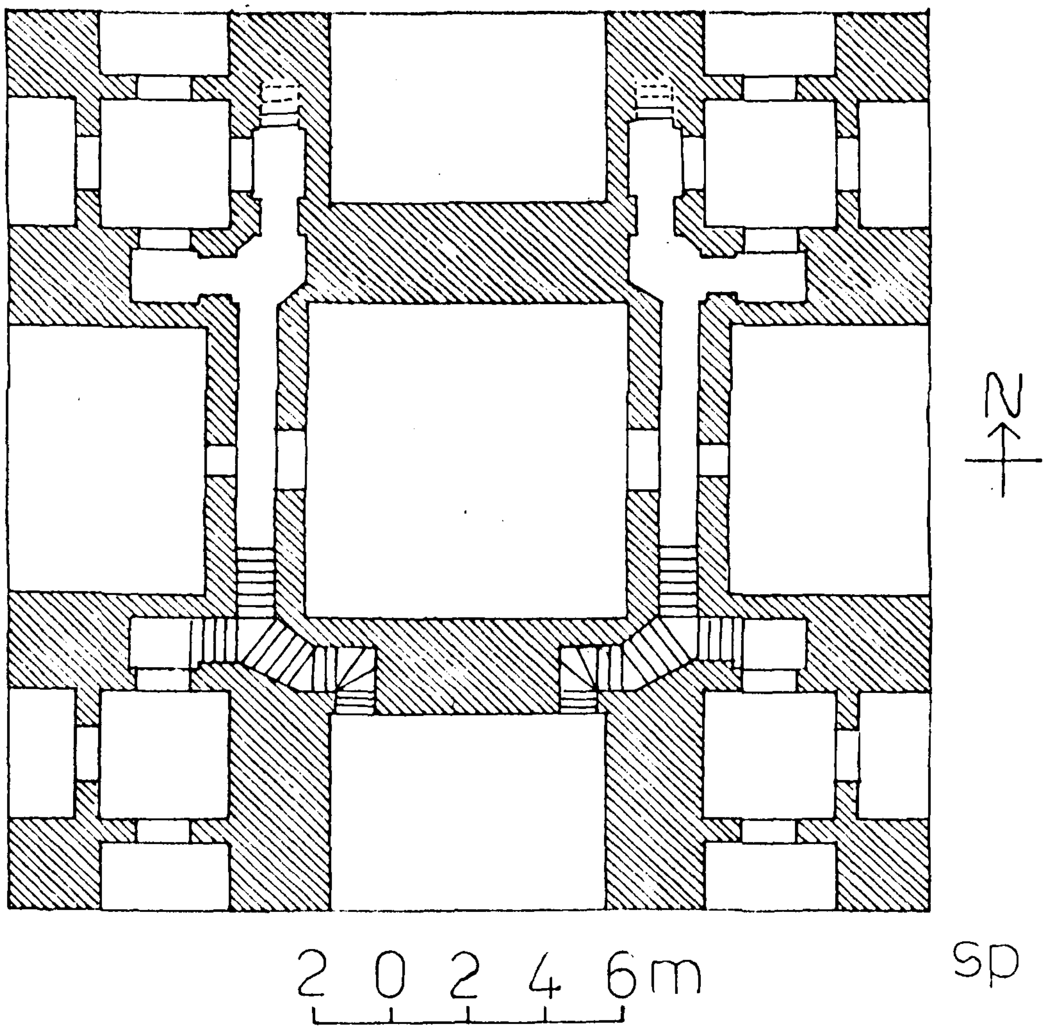


Fig. XXXIV. Sirhind : Tomb of Shagird, plan of the ground floor

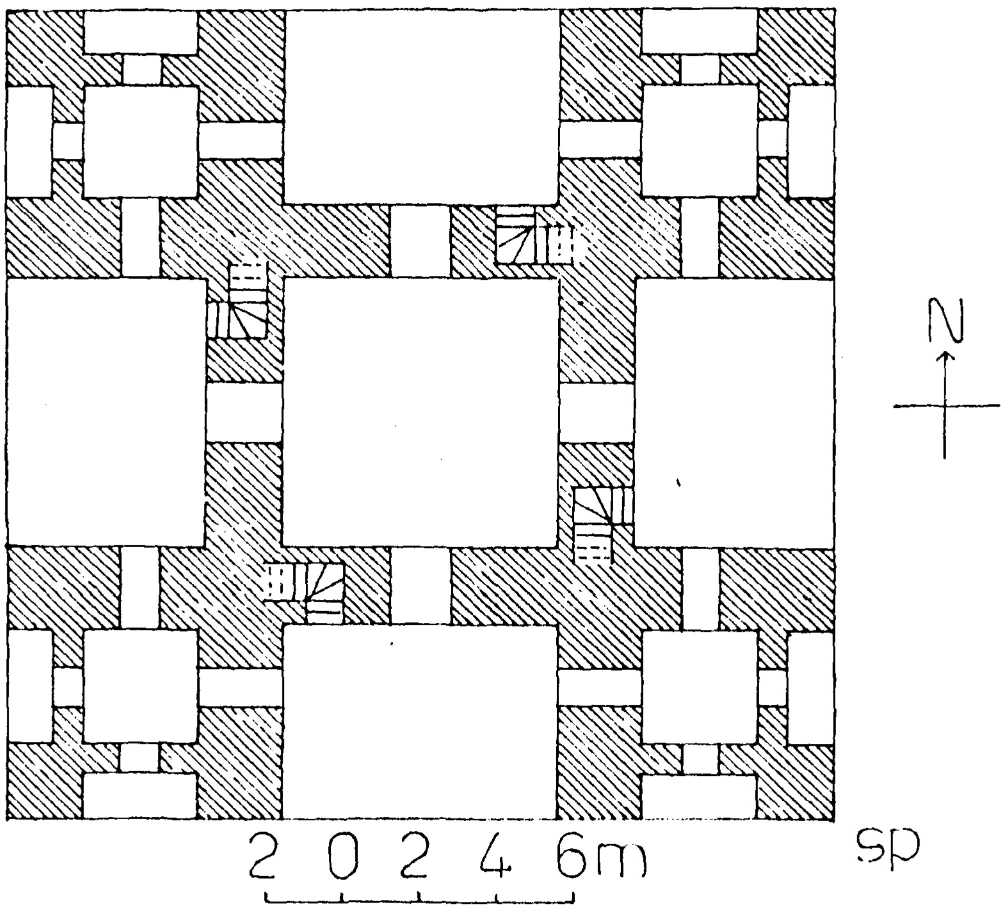


Fig. XXXV. Sirhind : Tomb of Shagird, plan of the upper storey

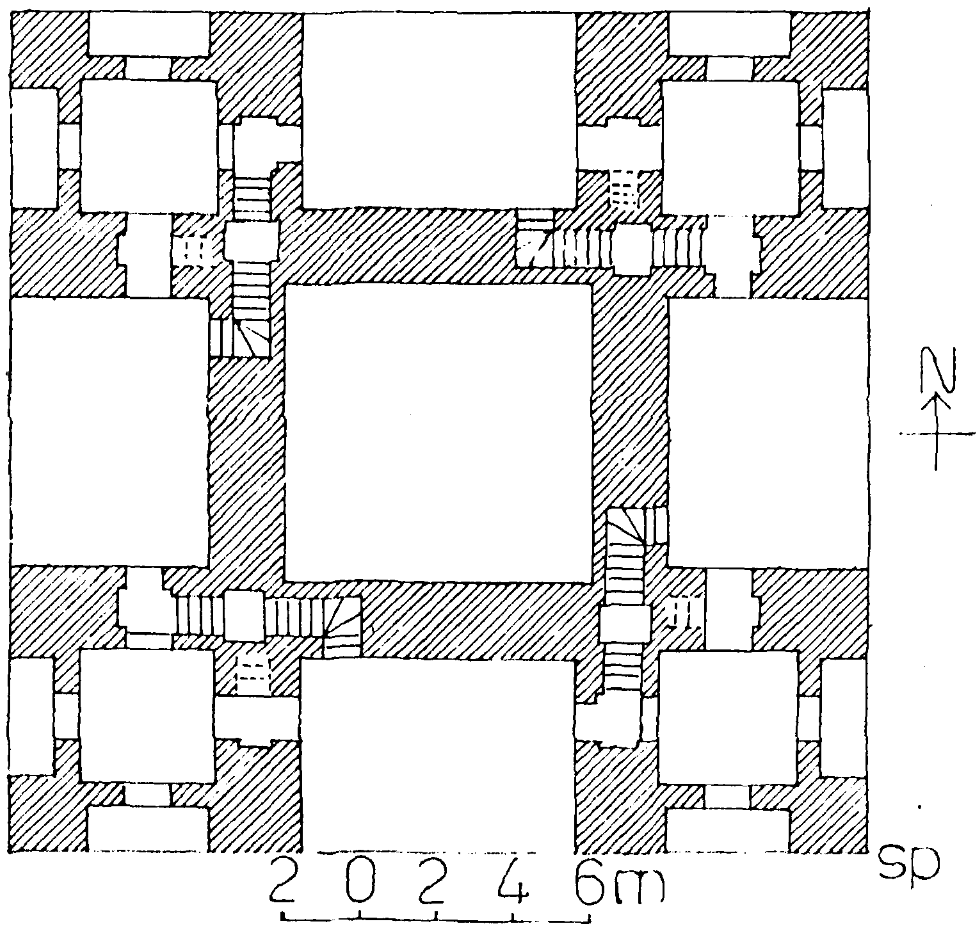


Fig. XXXVI. Panipat : Tomb of Muqarrab Khan, plan

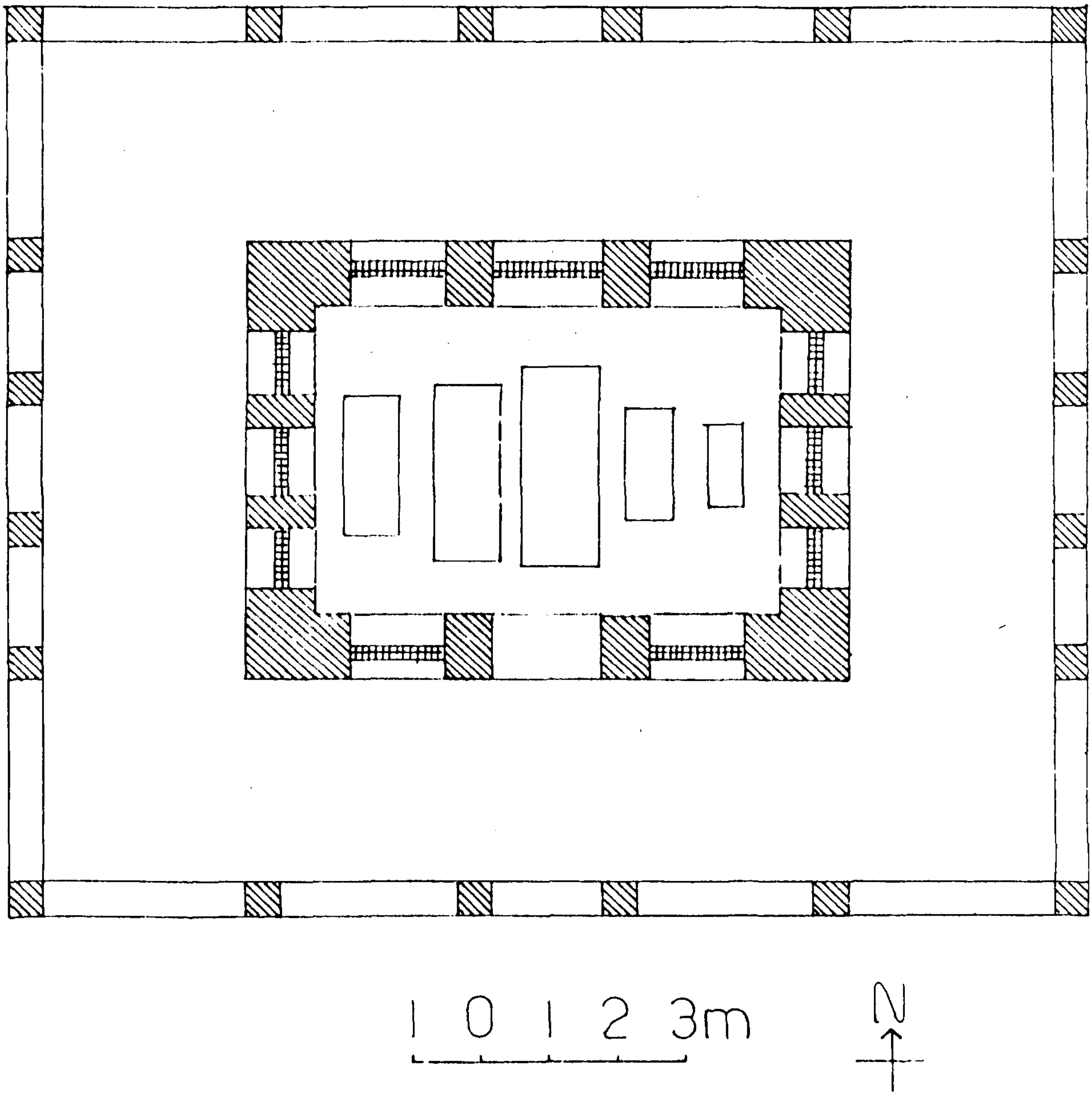


Fig. XXXVII. Sarai Amanat Khan : Tomb, plan

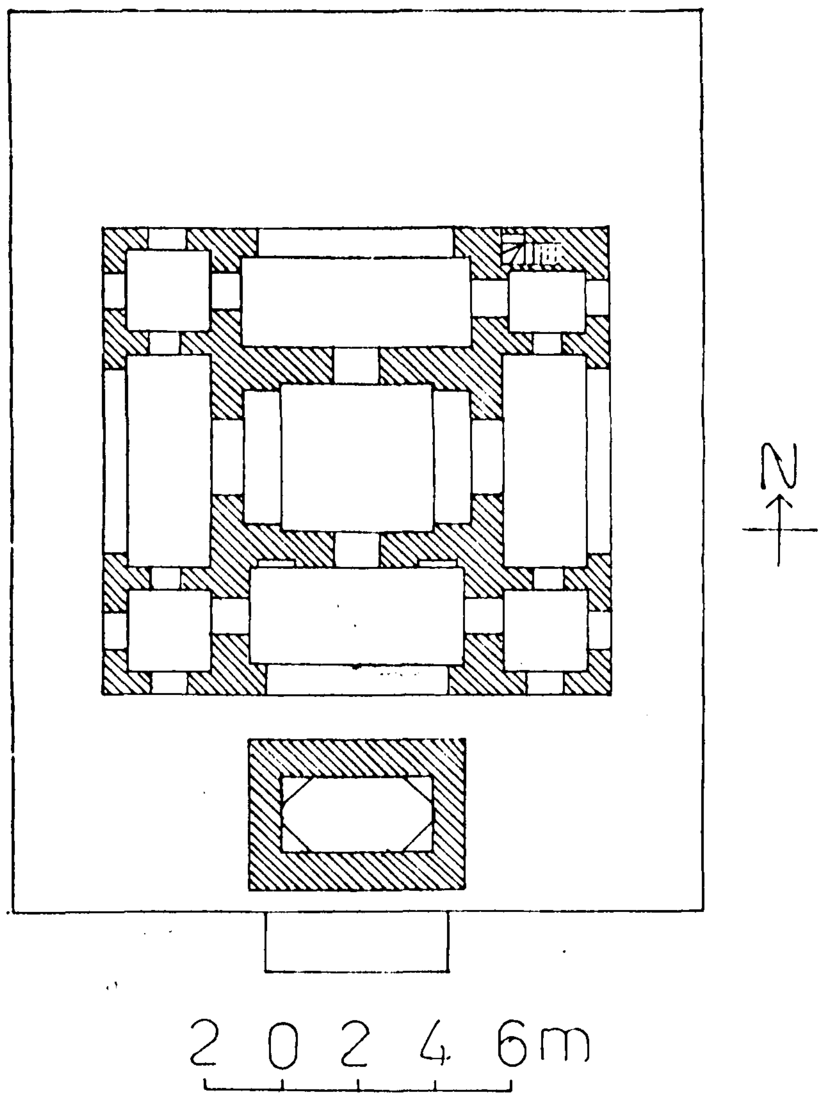


Fig. XXXVIII. Morinda : Tomb , plan

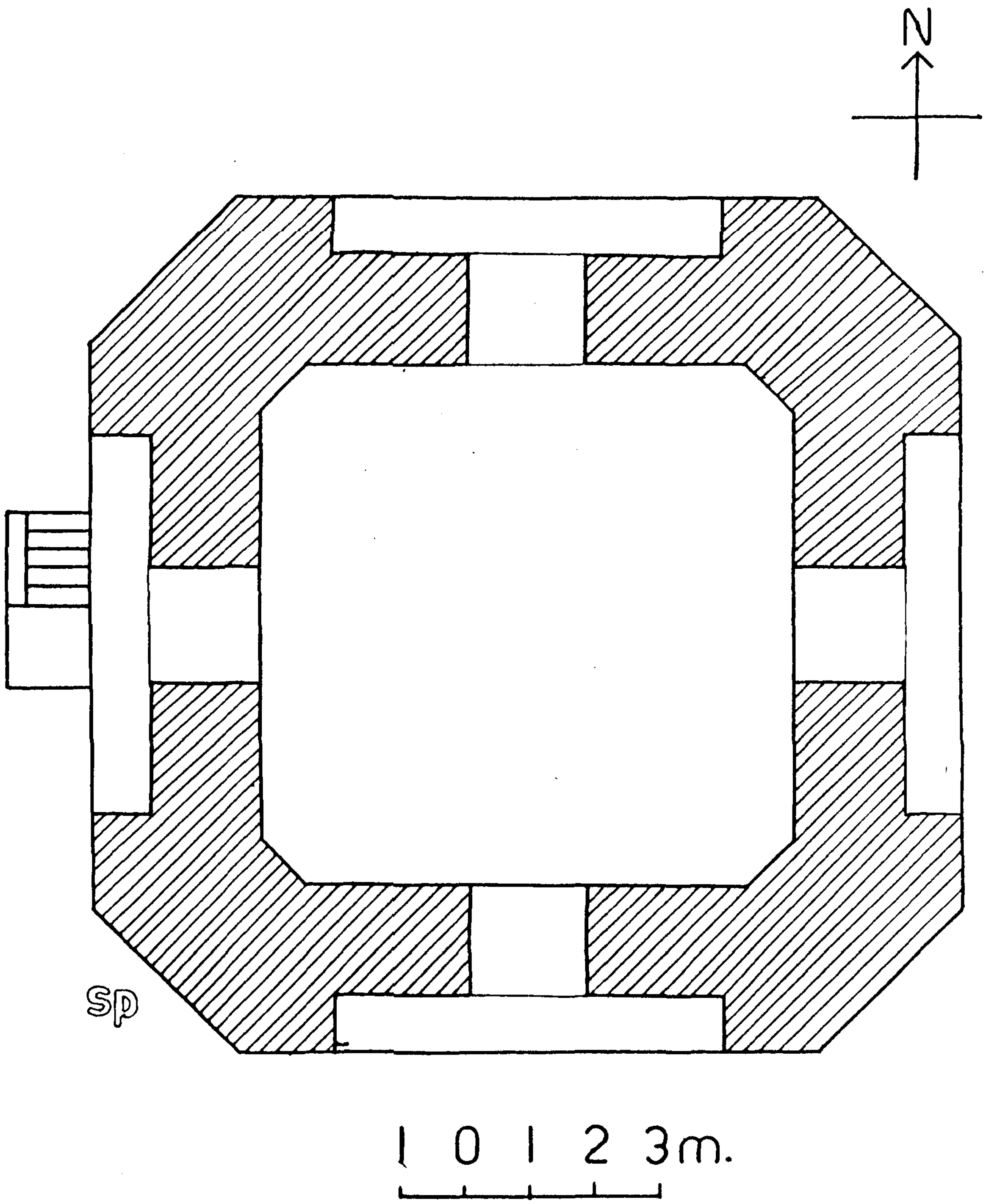


Fig. XXXIX. Panipat : Kabuli Bagh Masjid, plan

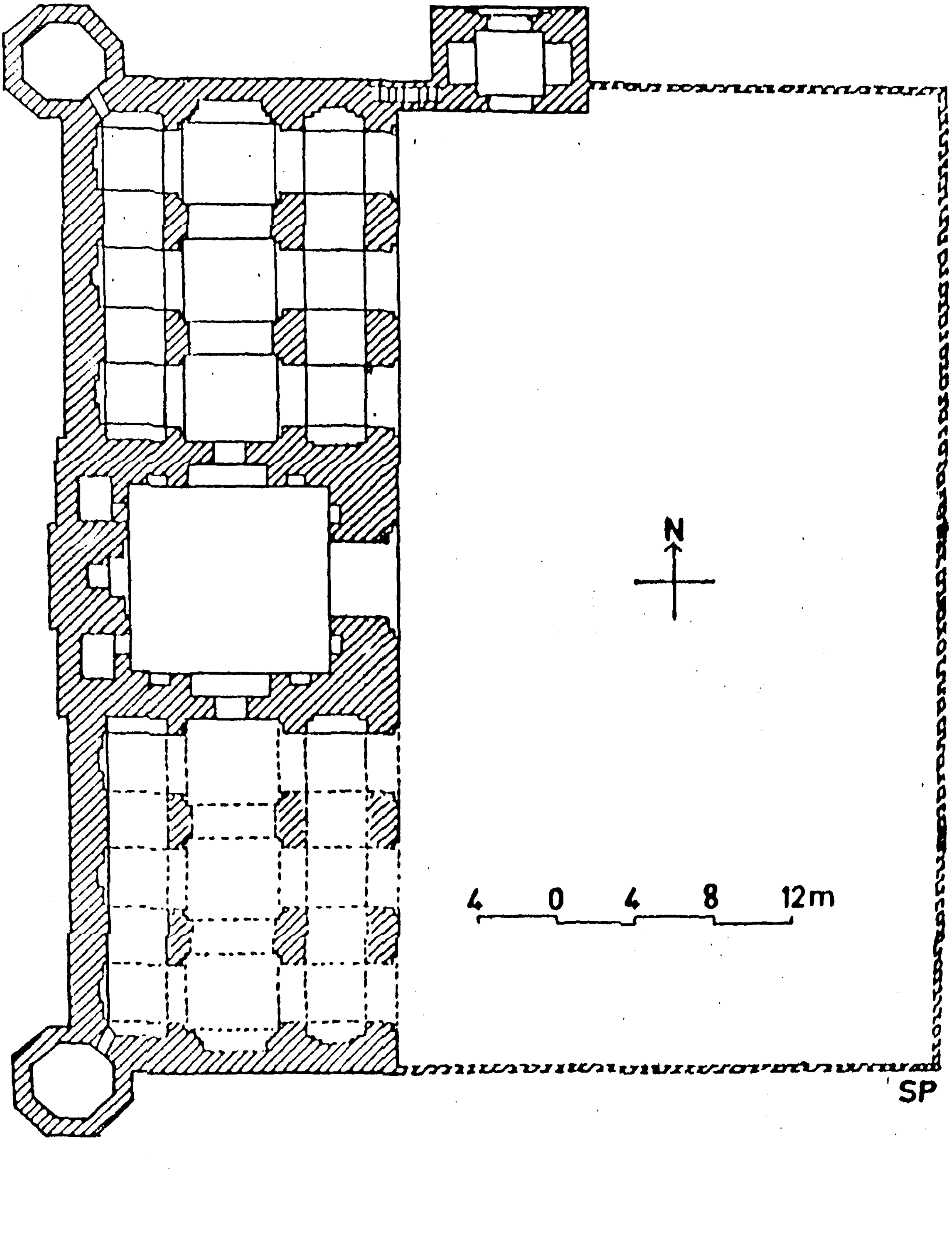


Fig.XL   Mehm : Jama Masjid, plan

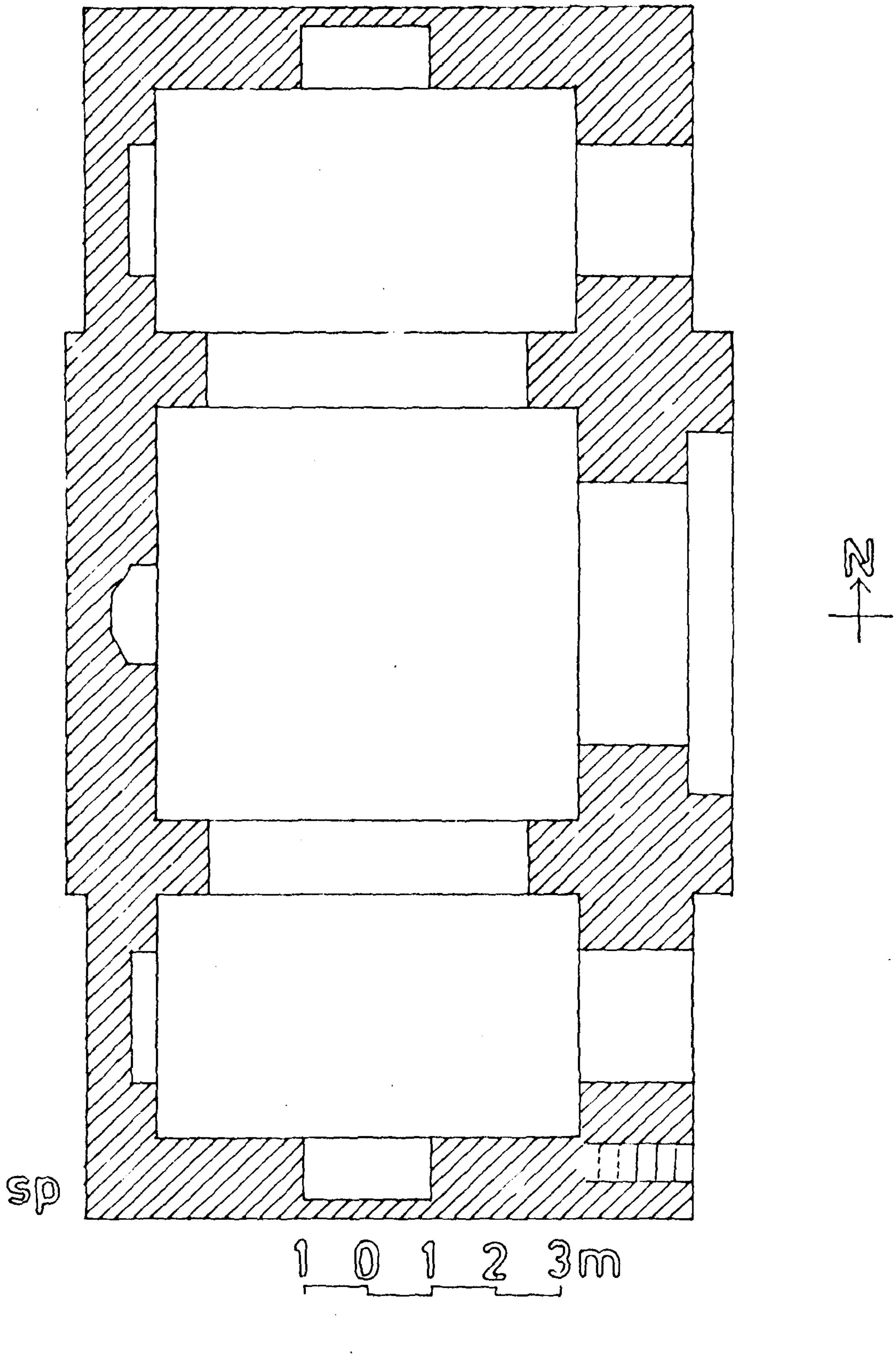


Fig. XLI. Kaithal : Jama Masjid, plan

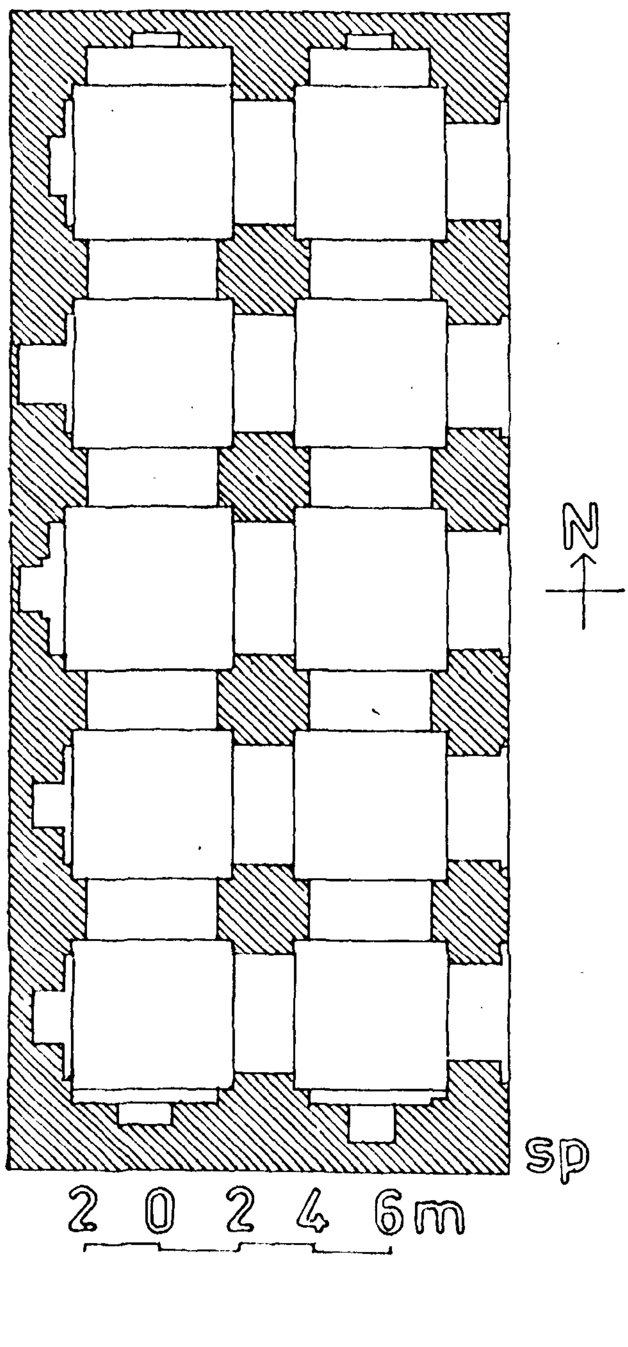


Fig. XLII. Fatiabad : Humayun Badshah ki Masjid, plan

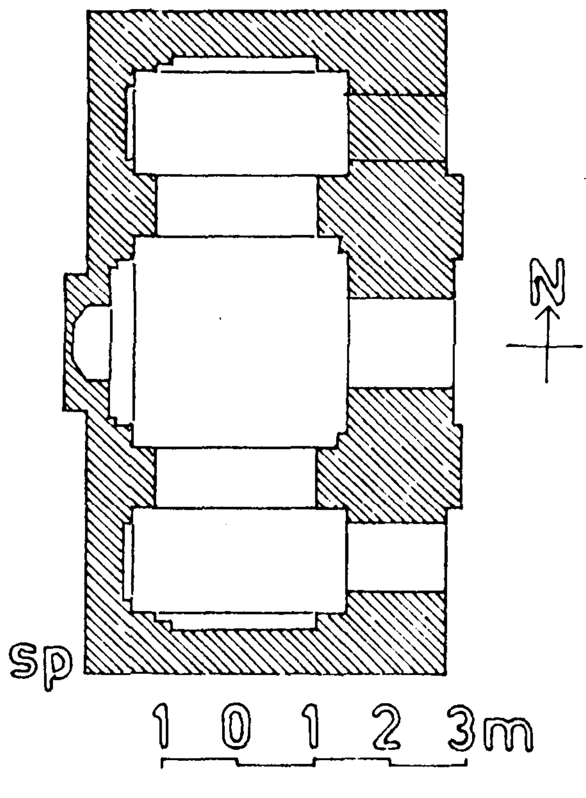


Fig.XLIII. Gaokaran : Mosque, plan

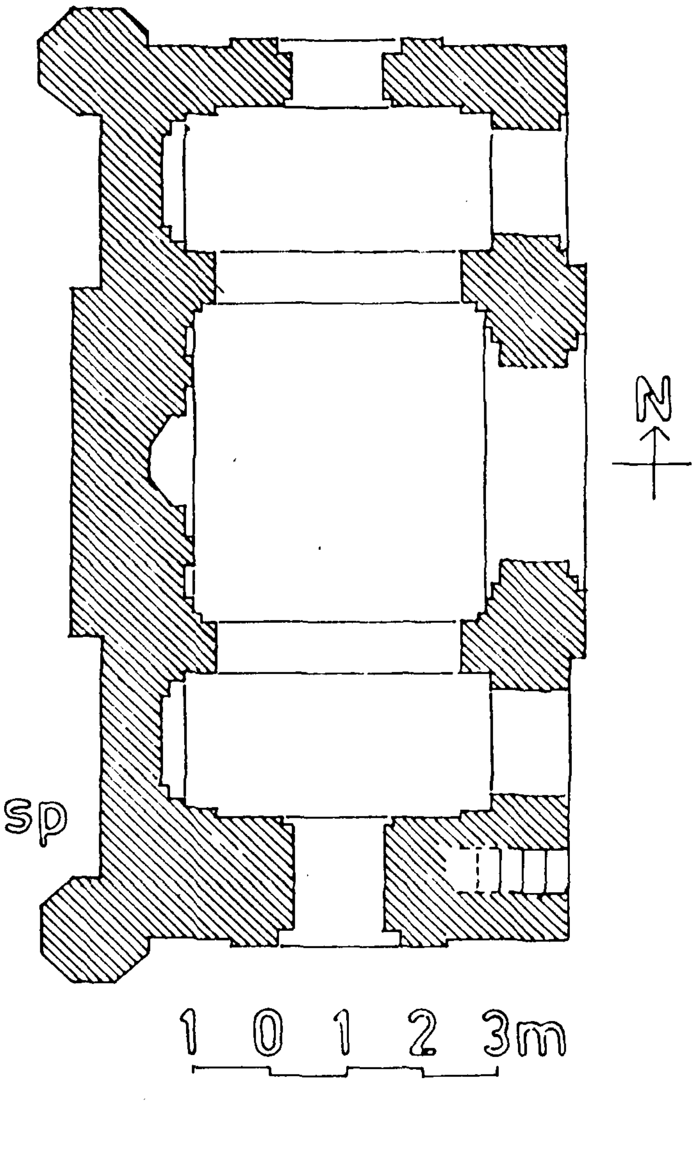


Fig. XLIV. Thanesar : Chiniwali Masjid, plan

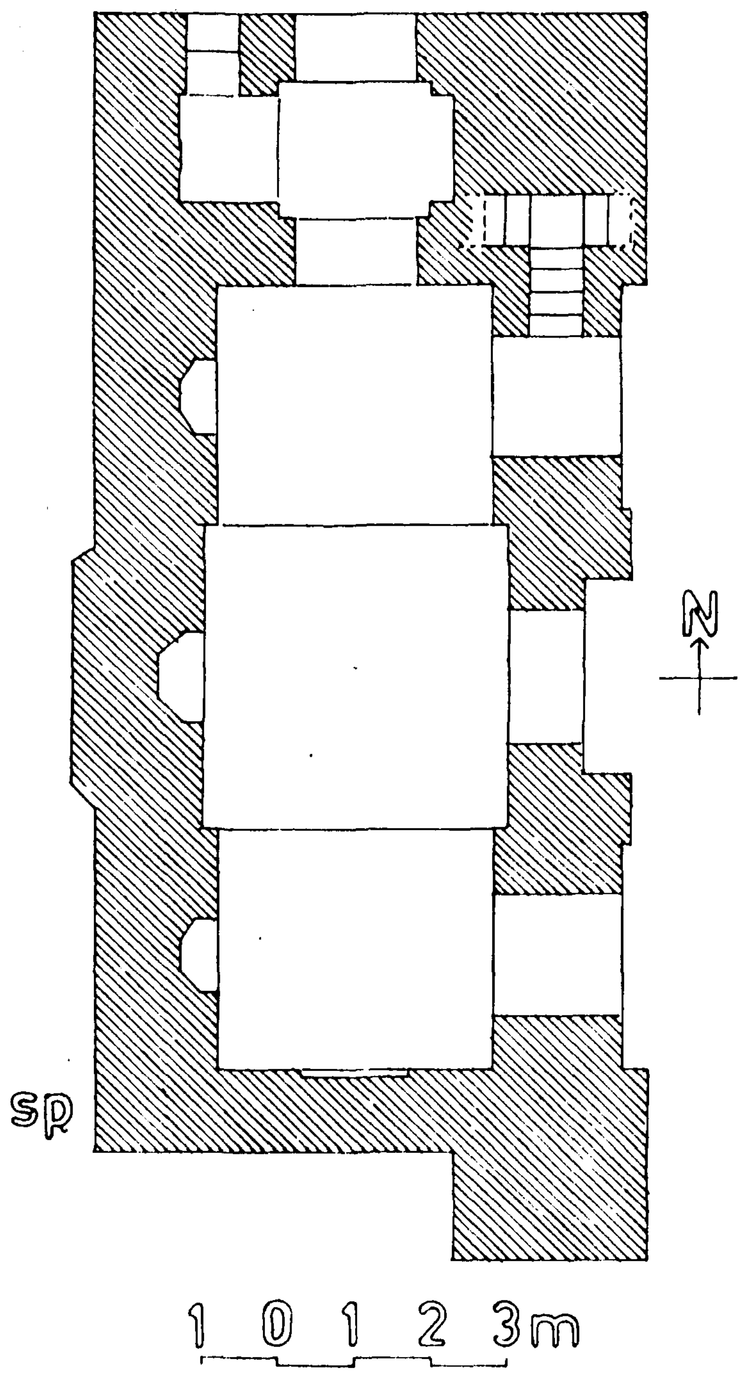


Fig. XLV. Narnaul : Mosque near Ali Jan ka Takht, plan

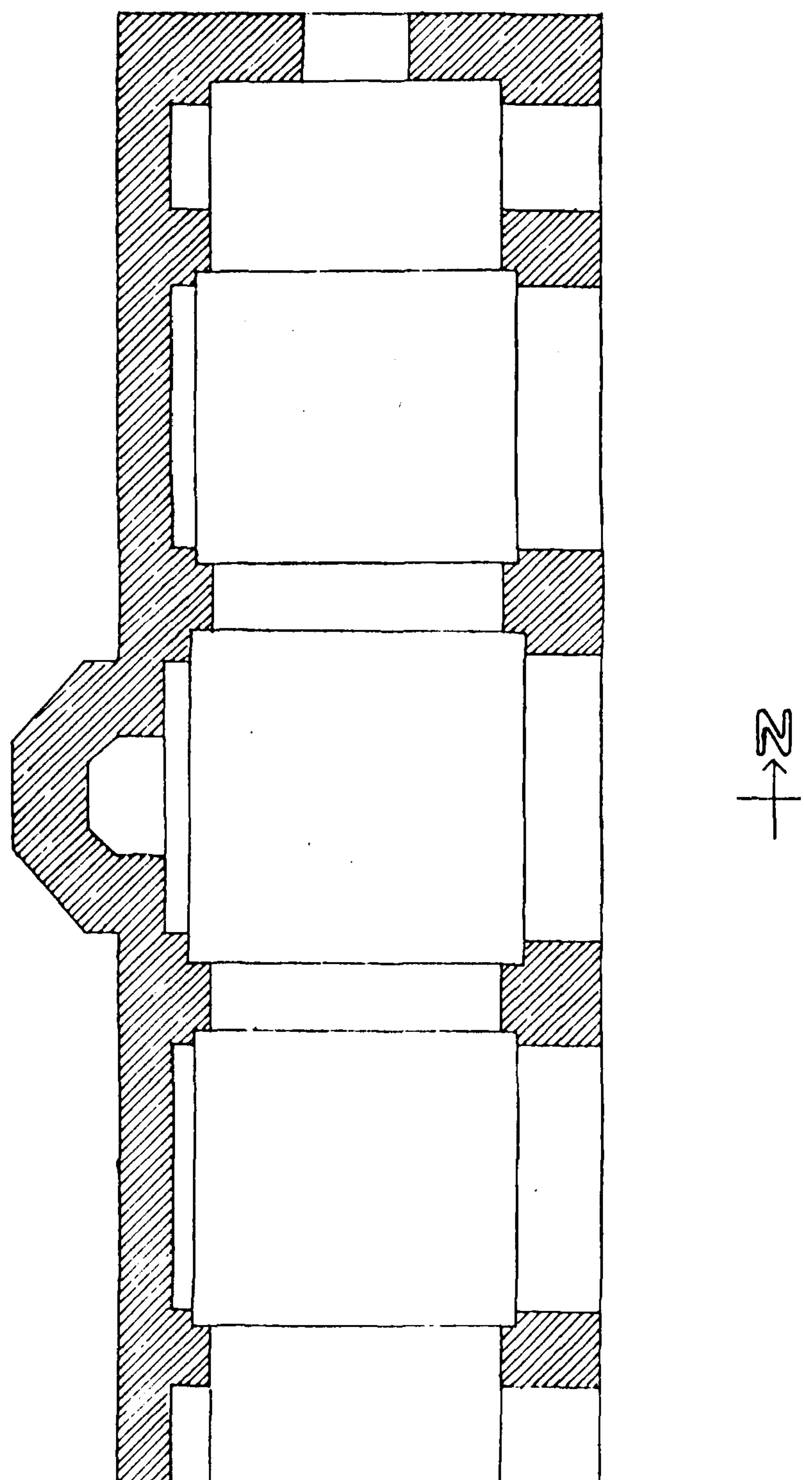


Fig. XLVI. Faridabad : Jama Masjid, plan

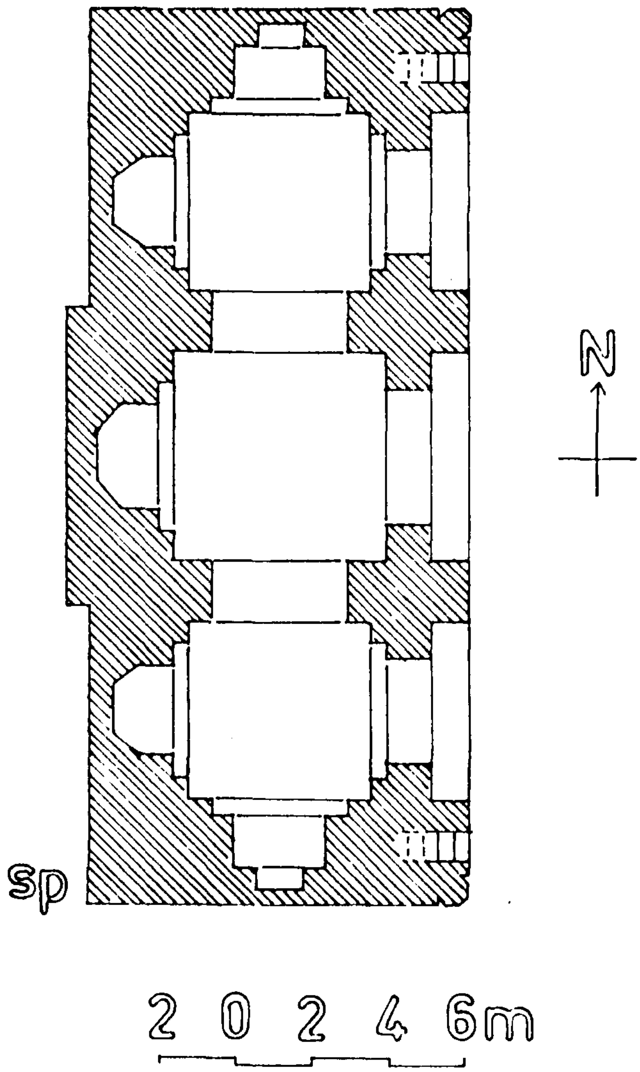


Fig. XLVII. Sadhora : Qazion ki Masjid, plan

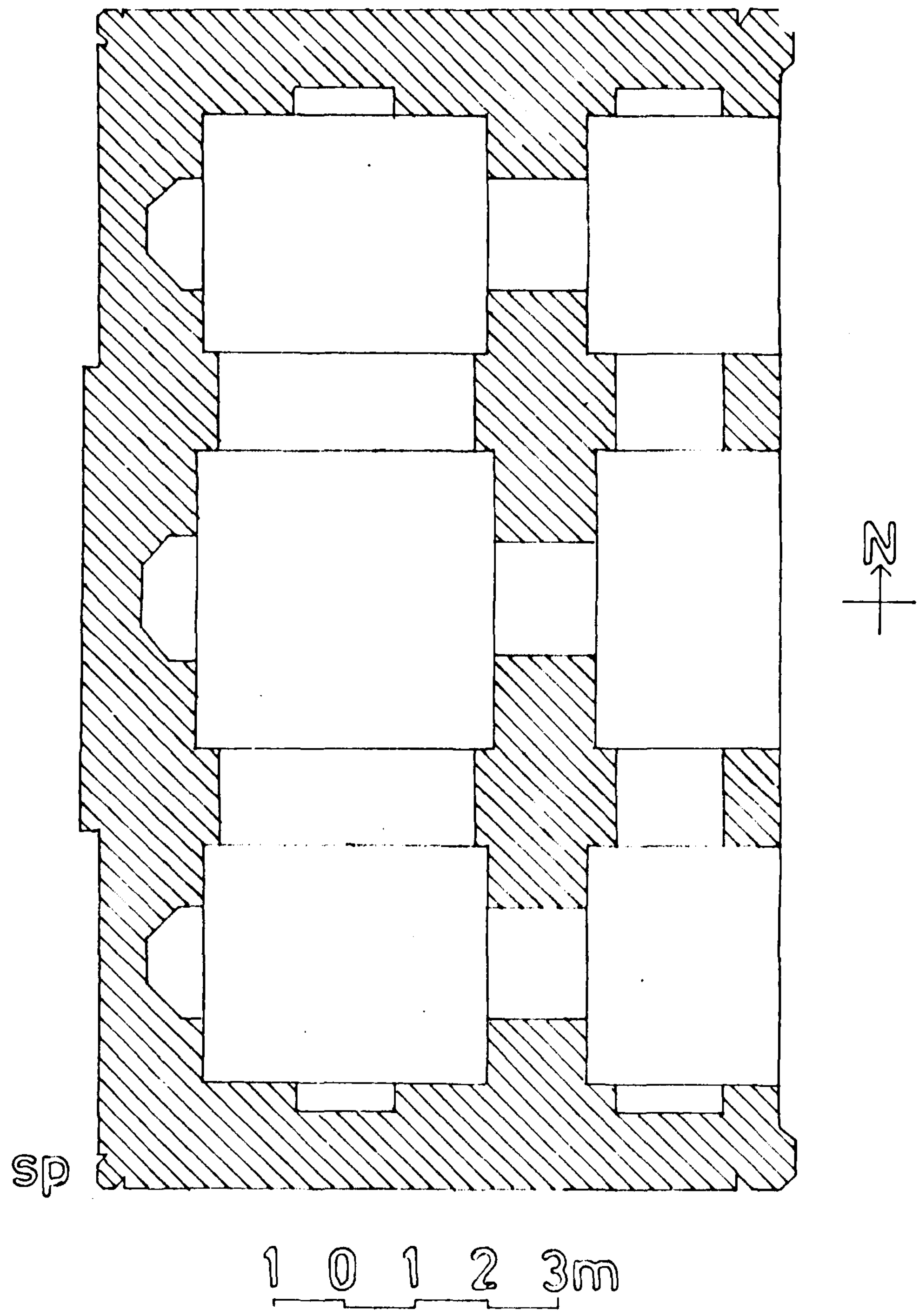


Fig. XLVIII. Hissar : Mosque of Shah Bahlol, plan

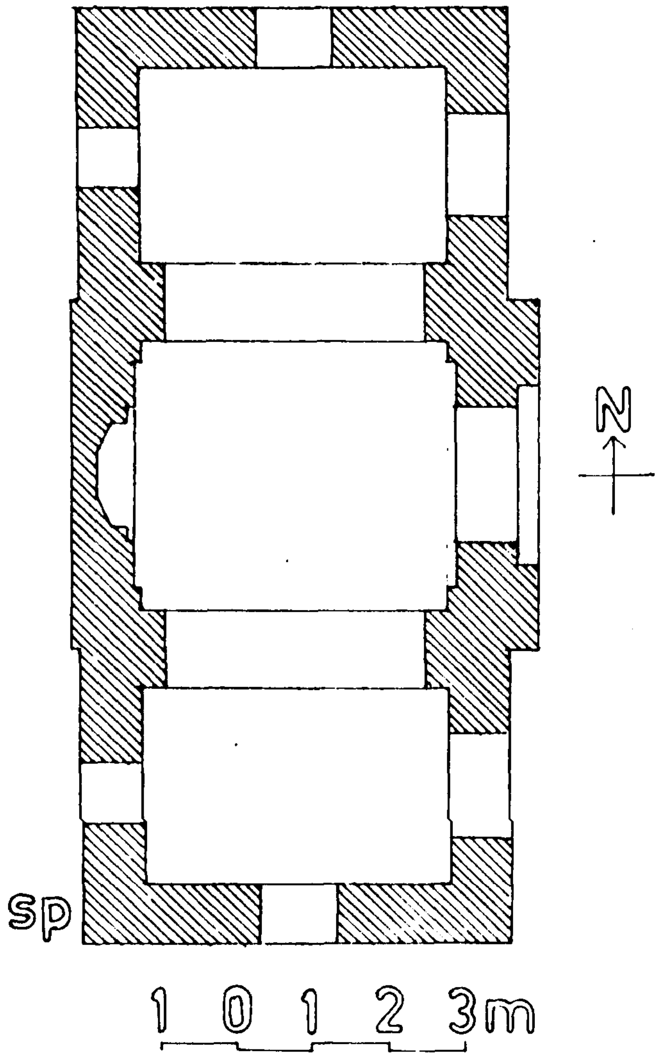


Fig. XLIX. Batala : Jama Masjid, plan

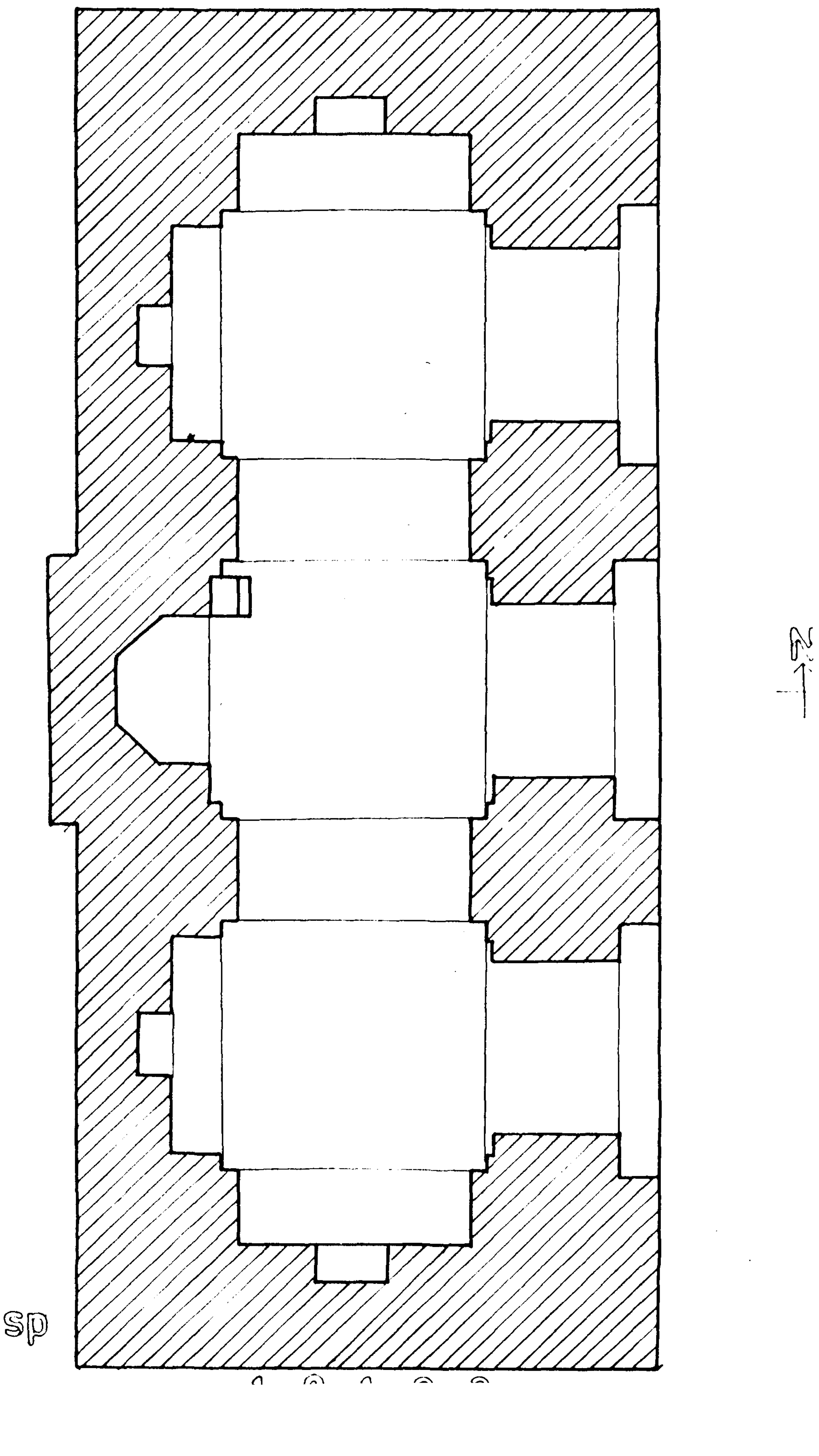


Fig. L. Pinjore : Jama Masjid, plan

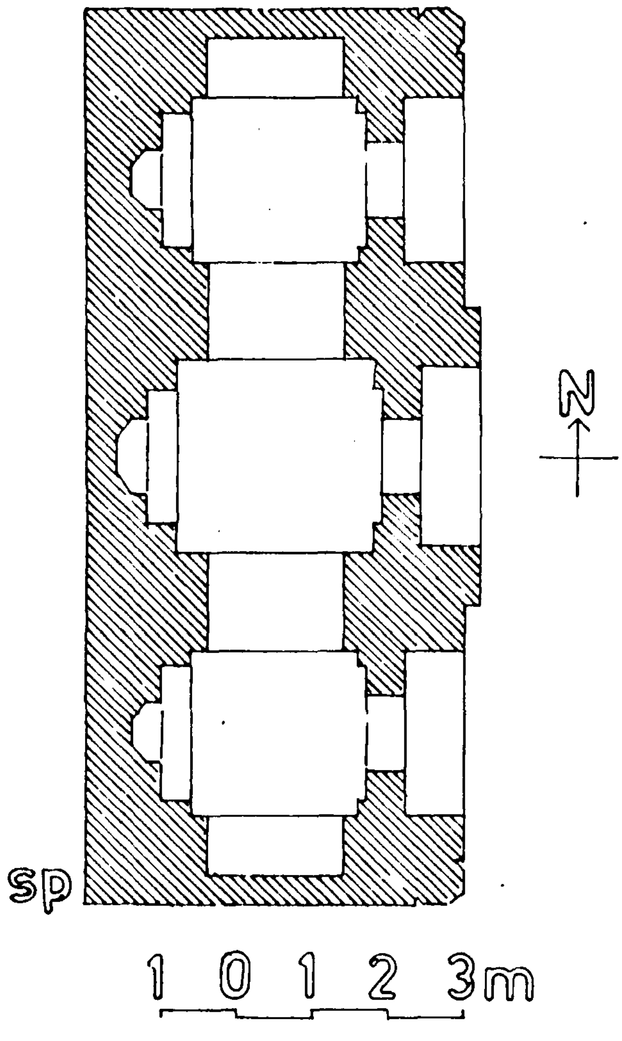


Fig. LI. Bahadurgarh : Fort, plan of the main gateway

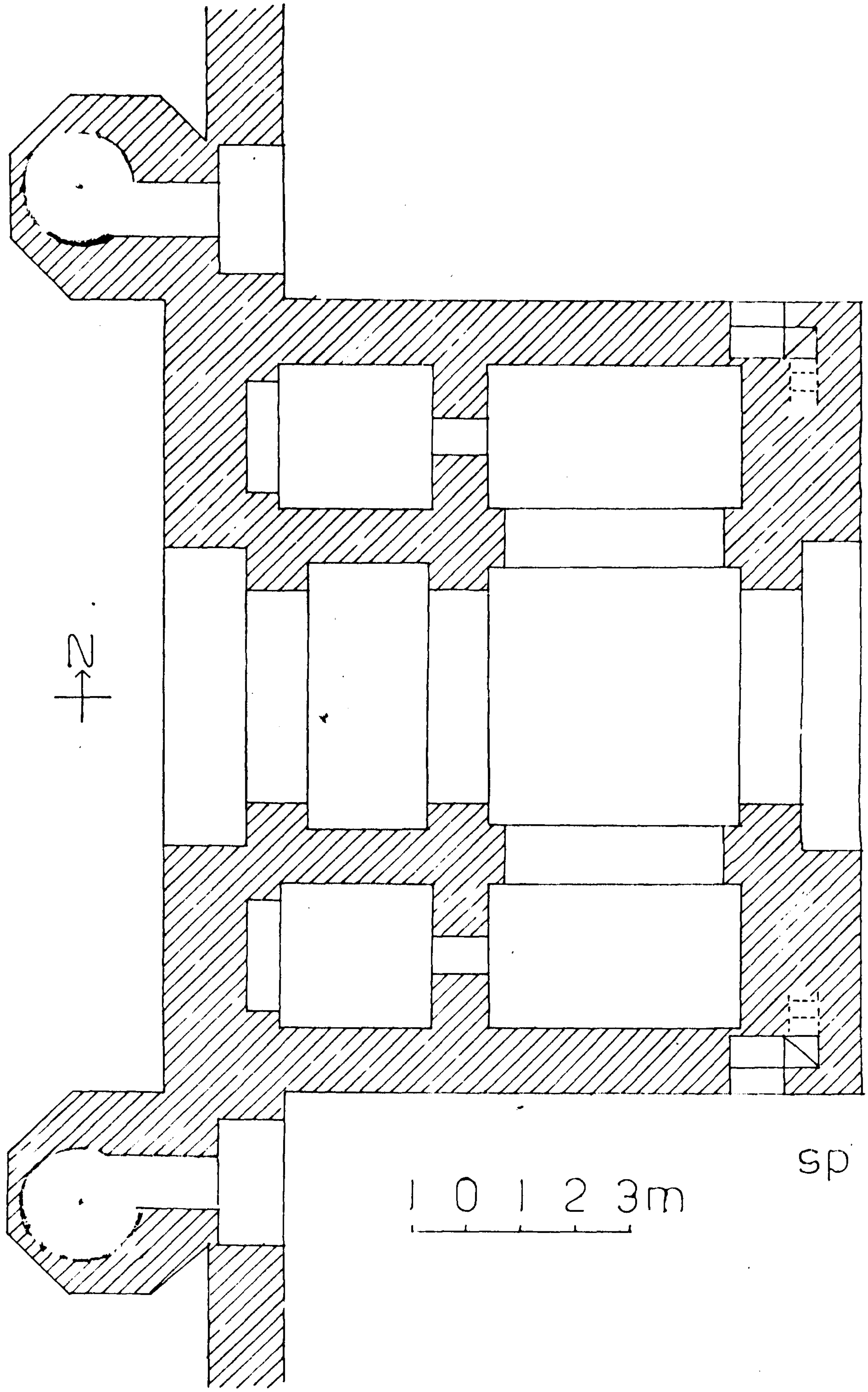
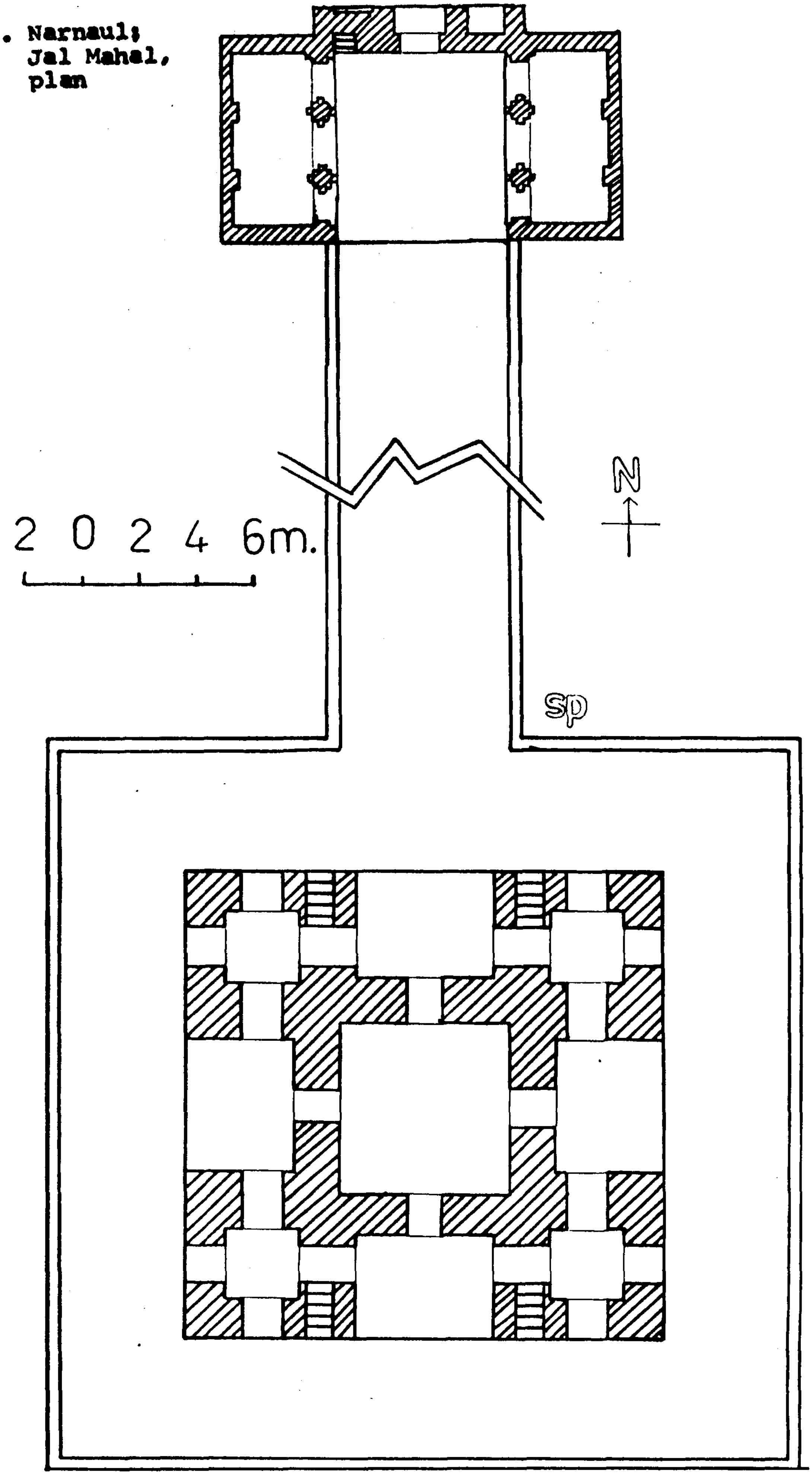


Fig. LII. Narnaul; Jal Mahal, plan



PLATES



Plate 1. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh, Sheesh Mahal



Plate 2. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh, hammam, stalactites



Plate 3. Sirhind : Aam Khas Bagh, Daulat Khana-i-khas



Plate 4. Pinjore : Garden, cascade below Baradari



Plate 5. Pinjore : Garden , Rang Mahal



Plate 6. Pinjore : Garden, water-palace as seen from the Rang Mahal

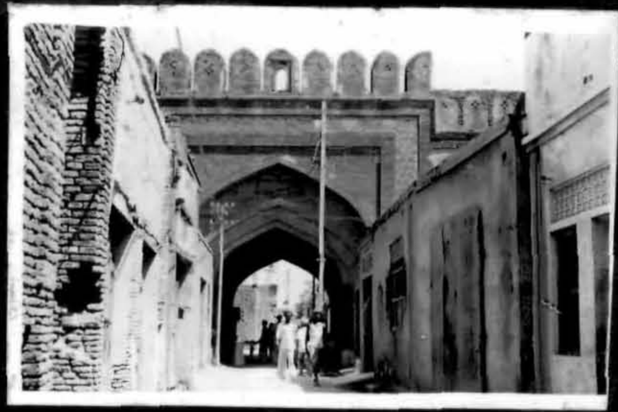


Plate 7. Fatehabad : Sarai, western gateway

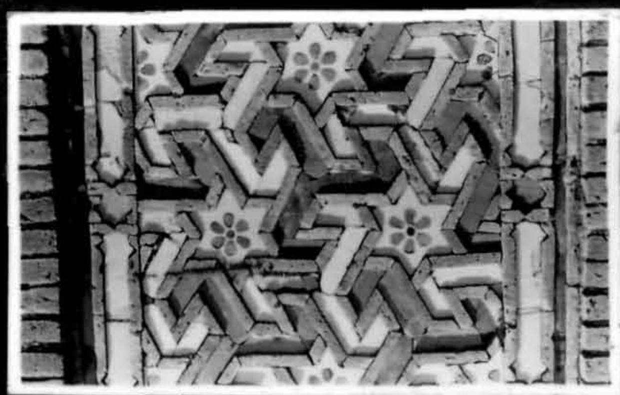


Plate 8. Fatehabad : Sarai, western gateway, glazed tile work



Plate 9. Nurmahal : western gateway

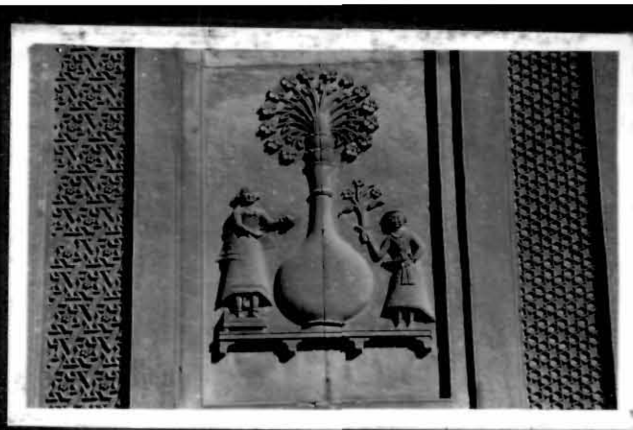


Plate 10. Nurmahal : western gateway, carving depicting human figures



Plate 11. Nurmahal : western gateway, foliated scroll-work



Plate 12. Nurmahal : western gateway, inscription



Plate 13. Shambhu : Sarai, eastern gateway



Plate 14. Doraha : Sarai, northern gateway

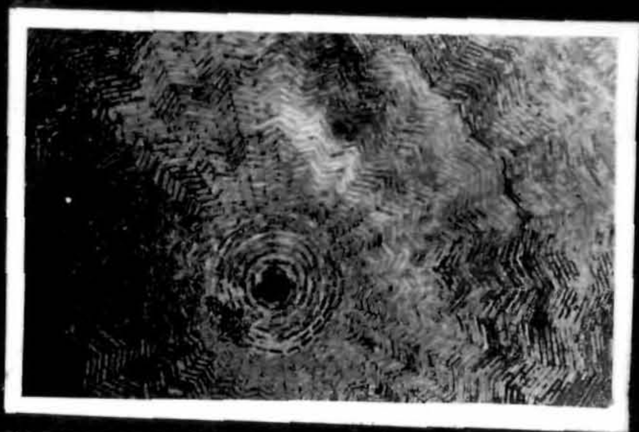


Plate 15. Doraha : Sarai, northern gateway, brickwork in the ceiling



Plate 16. Doraha : Sarai, northern gateway, glazed tile work

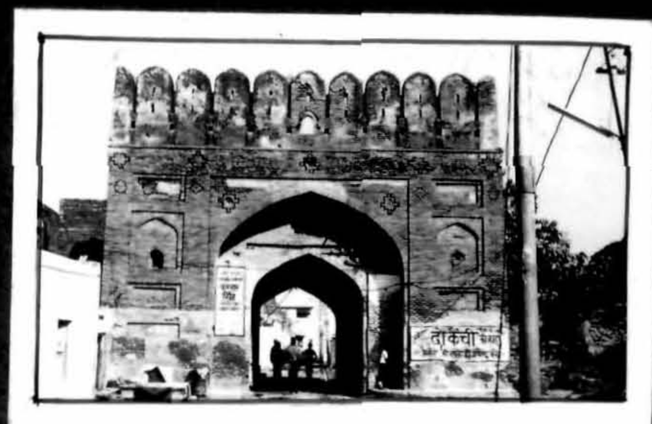


Plate 17. Shahabad : Sarai, southern gateway



Plate 18. Gharonda : Sarai, southern gateway

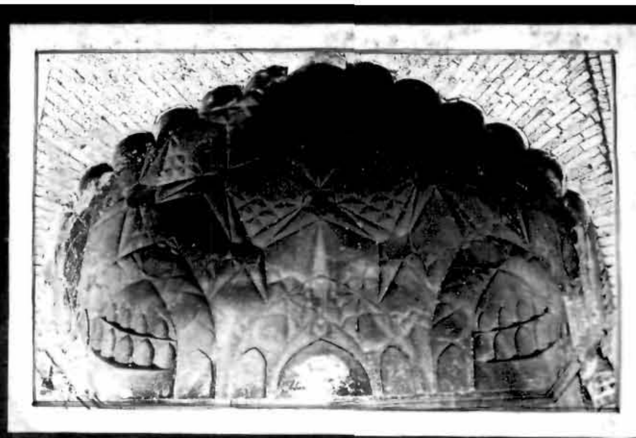


Plate 19. Gharonda : Sarai, southern gateway, stalactites



Plate 20. Narnaul : Sarai Rai Mukand Das, western gateway

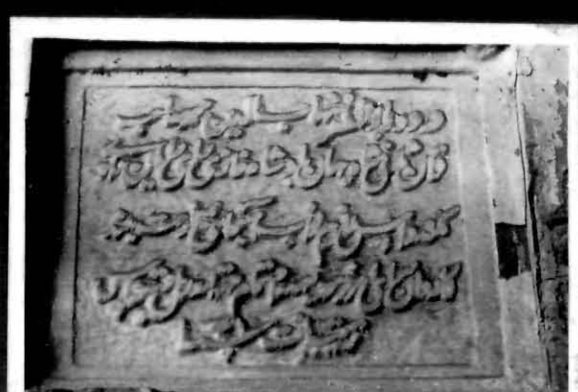


Plate 21. Narnaul : Sarai Rai Mukand Das, western gateway, inscription

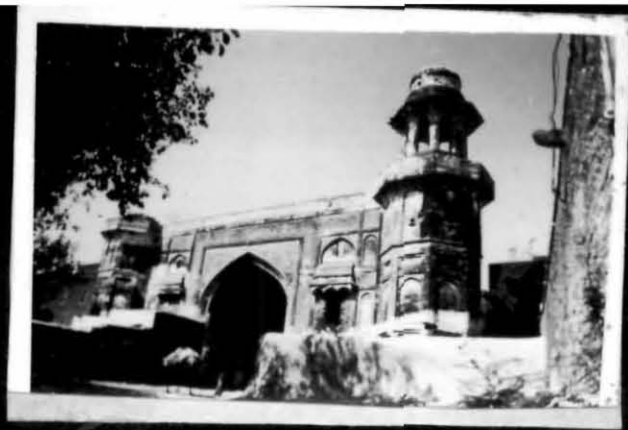


Plate 22. Sarai Amanat Khan : Sarai, eastern gateway



Plate 23. Sarai Amanat Khan : Sarai, western gateway, glazed tile work



Plate 24. Rajpura : Sarai, western gateway



Plate 25. Thanesar : Sarai, eastern gateway



Plate 26. [redacted] Sarai, southern gateway

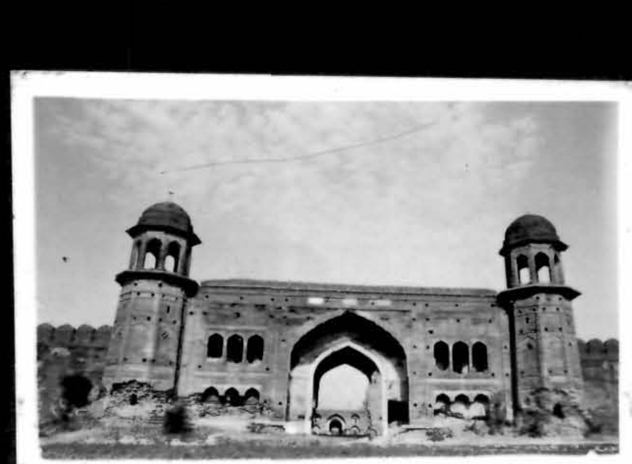


Plate 27. Sarai Lashkar Khan, eastern gateway



Plate 28. Dakhini Sarai, eastern gateway



Plate 29. Sultanpur Lodi : Sarai, northern gateway



Plate 30. Hissar : Tomb of Mir Ashiq Muhammad



Plate 31. Hissar : Tomb of Mir Ashiq Muhammad, inscription



Plate 32. Hissar : Chiri Gumbad



Plate 33. Mehm : Tomb near the baoli of Saidu Kalal



Plate 34. Gorawar : Tomb on the outskirts of the village



Plate 35. Gorawar : Tomb in the fields



Plate 36. Narnaul : Tomb of Shah Quli Khan

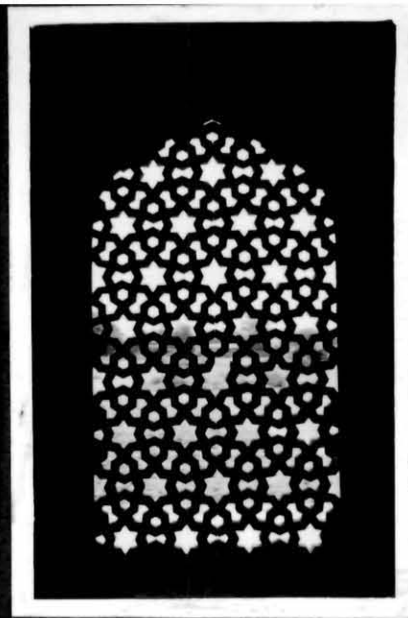


Plate 37. Narnaul : Tomb of Shah Quli Khan, lattice-work



Plate 38. Narnaul : Tripolia



Plate 39. Narnaul : Tomb of Islam Quli Khan

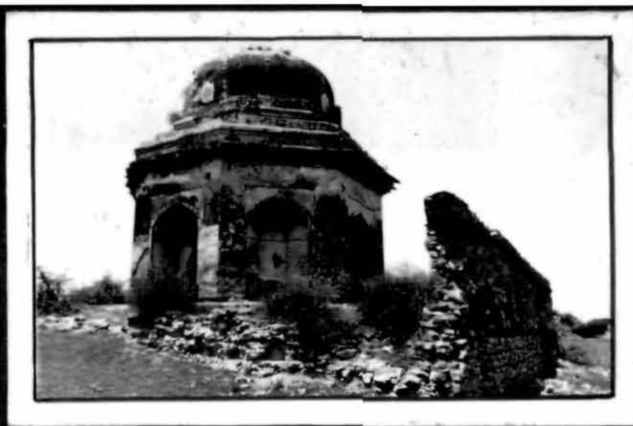


Plate 40. Palwal : Tomb of Shahbaz Khan



Plate 41. Thanesar : Tomb of Jalaluddin



Plate 42. Narnaul : Tomb of Shah Nizam



Plate 43. Batala : Tomb of Shamsher Khan



Plate 44. Batala : Tomb of Shamsher Khan,a painted design



Plate 45. Bahlolpur : Tomb of Hussain Khan

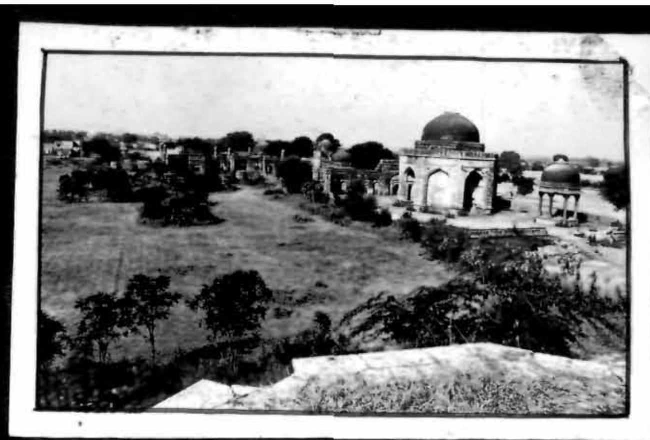


Plate 46. Jhajjar : The Group of Tombs



Plate 47. Jhajjar : Tomb of Miyan Raib



Plate 48. Jhajjar : Tomb of Miyan Raib, inscription



Plate 49. Kalanaur : Tomb of Jamil Beg



Plate 50. Sirhind : Tomb of Haji Muhammad

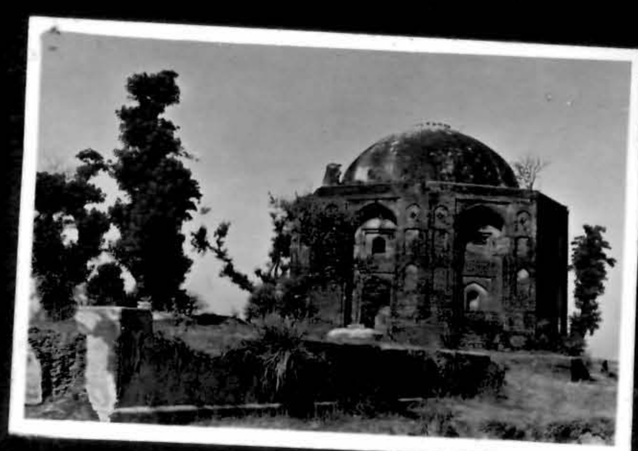


Plate 51. Bahlolpur : Tomb of Bahadur Khan



Plate 52. Sultanpur Lodi : Anonymous tomb



Plate 53. Nakodar : Tomb of Ustad



Plate 54. Nurdin : Anonymous tomb



Plate 55. Sirhind : Tomb of Ustad



Plate 56. Sirhind : Tomb of Shagird



Plate 57. Ropar : Tomb of Jamal Khan



Plate 58. Bahlolpur : Tomb of Alawal Khan



Plate 59. Panipat : Tomb of Muqarrab Khan



Plate 60. Thanesar : Tomb of Sheikh Chilli



Plate 61. Thanesar : Tomb of Sheikh Chilli, lattice-work



Plate 62. Thanesar : Tomb of Sheikh Chilli's wife, a carved panel



Plate 63. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird



Plate 64. Nakodar : Tomb of Shagird, glazed tile work



Plate 65. Sarai Amanat Khan : Tomb of Amanat Khan

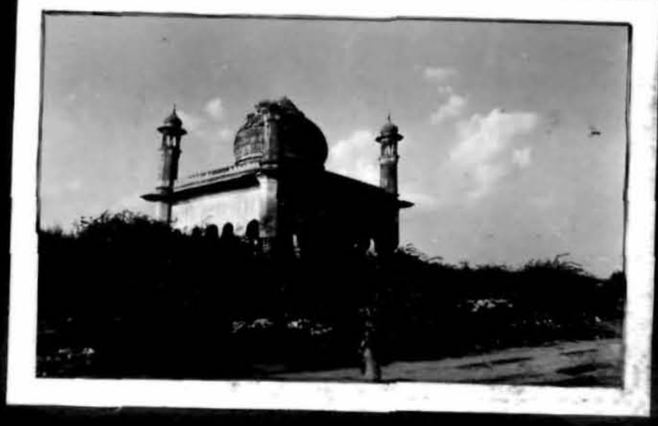


Plate 66. Illabas : Tomb of Allah Yar Khan



Plate 67. Nurmahal : Tomb of Fateh Ali Shah



Plate 68. Palwal : Tomb of Sayyid Chirag



Plate 69. Bahadurgarh : Tomb of Saif Khan



Plate 70. Bahlolpur : Tomb of Daud Khan

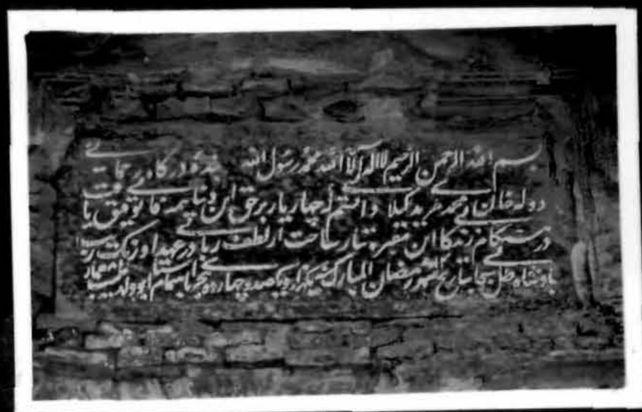


Plate 71. Mehm : Tomb of Daula Khan, inscription

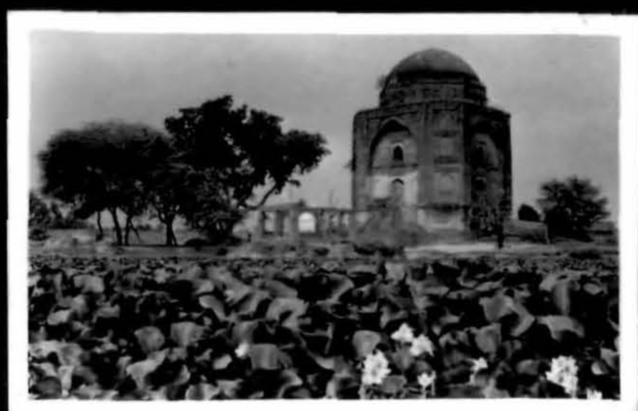


Plate 72. Morinda : Anonymous tomb

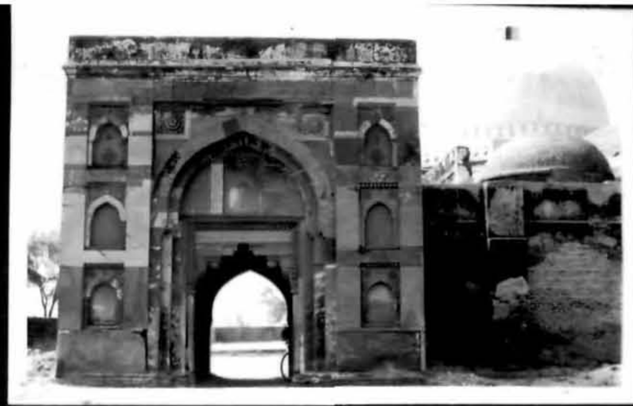


Plate 73. Panipat : Kabuli Bagh Mosque, gateway



Plate 74. Panipat : Kabuli Bagh Mosque



Plate 75. Mehm : Jama Masjid

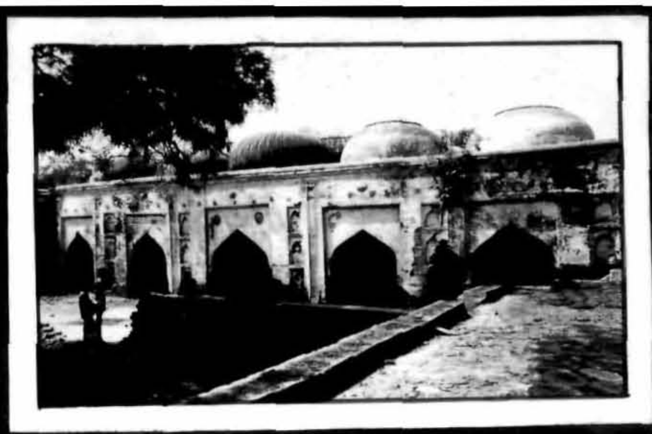


Plate 76. Kaithal : Jama Masjid



Plate 77. Fatiabad : Humayun Badshah ki Masjid



Plate 78. Gaokaran : Mosque



Plate 79. Thanesar : Chiniwali Masjid



Plate 80. Narnaul : Jama Masjid



Plate 81. Narnaul : Mosque near Ali Jan ka Takht



Plate 82. Faridabad : Jama Masjid



Plate 83. Fatehabad : Jama Masjid



Plate 84. Narnaul : Mosque of Shah Nizam



Plate 85. Sadhora : Qazion ki Masjid



Plate 86. Bahadurgarh : Mosque of Saif Khan



Plate 87. Sadhora : Mosque of Abdul Wahab



Plate 88. Bahrampur : Mosque



Plate 89. Hissar : Mosque of Shah Bahlol



Plate 90. Mehm : Mosque of Daula Khan, inscription



Plate 91. Batala : Jama Masjid

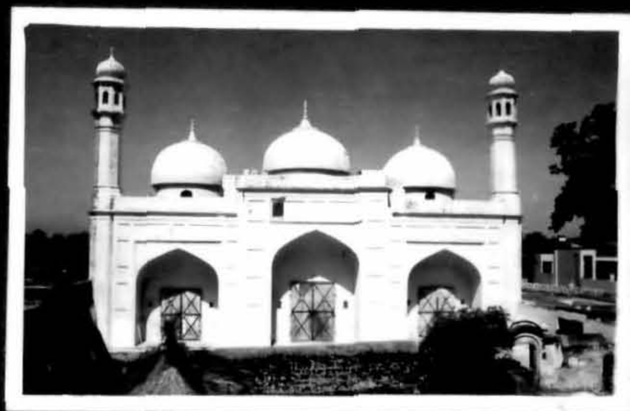


Plate 92. Pinjore : Jama Masjid

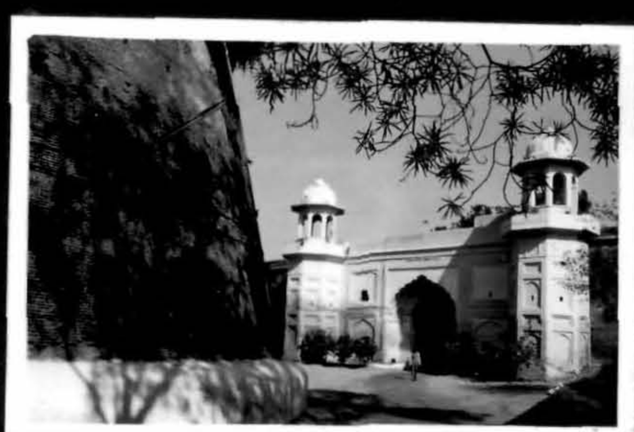


Plate 93. Bahadurgarh : Fort, main gateway



Plate 94. Narnaul : Birbal ka Chhatta, gateway



Plate 95. Sirhind : Todar Mal ki Haveli



Plate 96. Narnaul : Jal Mahal



Plate 97. Buria : Rang Mahal



Plate 98. Buria : Rang Mahal, painted design



Plate 99. Buria : Rang Mahal, painted design depicting elephant

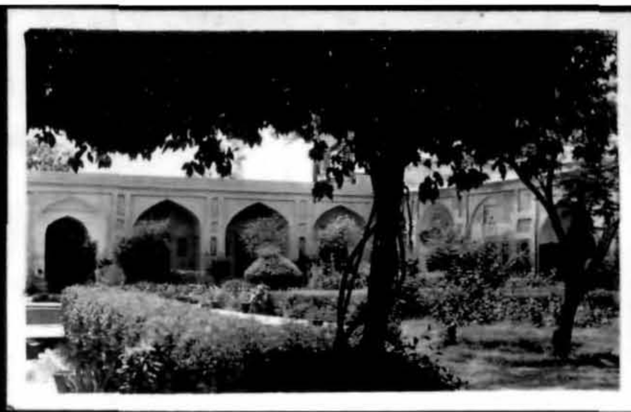


Plate 100. Thanesar : Madrassa



Plate 101. Jhajjar : Gateway of Rustam Khan



Plate 102. Rohtak : Gateway of Wazir Khan

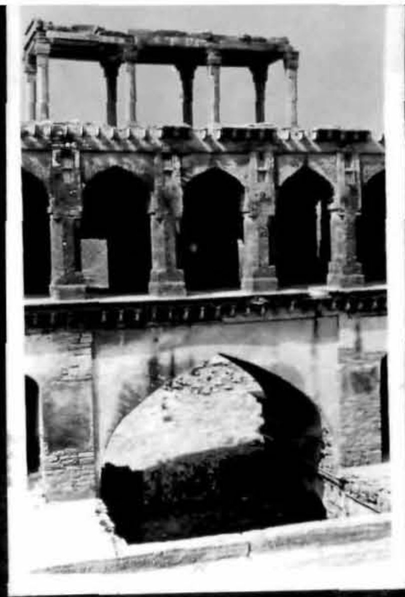


Plate 103. Narnaul : Ali Jan ka Takht

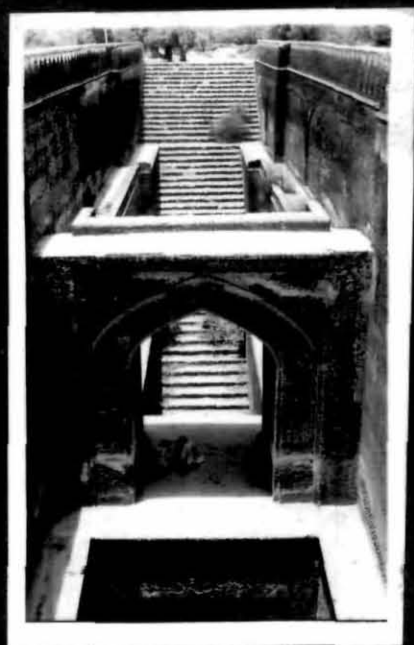


Plate 104. Mehm : Baoli of Saidu Kalal



Plate 105. Sarai Amanat Khan : Baoli



Plate 106. Batala : Tank of Shamsher Khan



Plate 107. Sultanpur Lodi : Mughal bridge



Plate 108. Sirhind : Bridge



Plate 109. Khwaza Sarai : Bridge



Plate 110. Sultanpur Lodi : Kos-minar



Plate 111. Kalanaur : Takht-i-Akbari